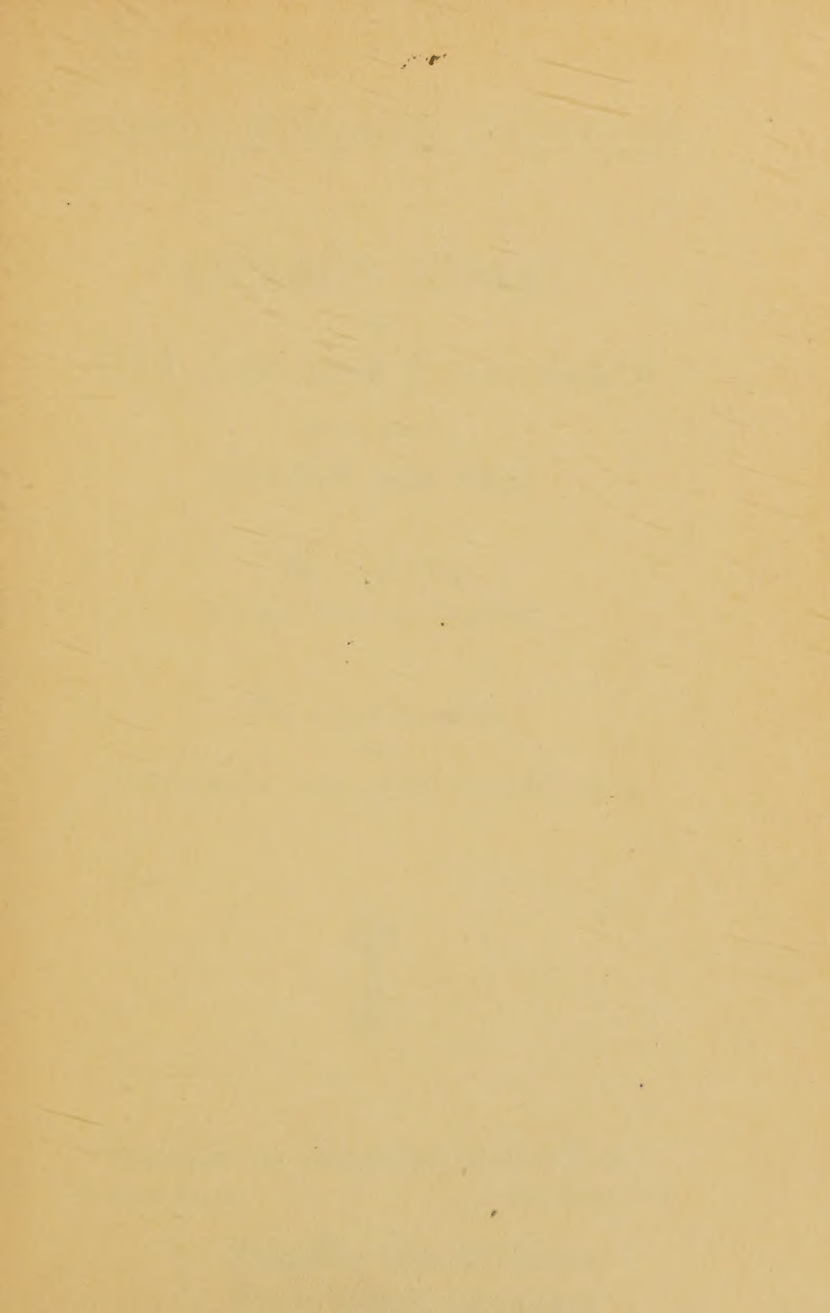


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STUDENTS INTERLINEAR TRANSLATIONS

CICERO'S ESSAYS
on
Old Age and Friendship
and Cicero's
ORATION FOR MILO

The Original Text
A Literal Interlinear Translation

With a Brief Introduction
by
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TRANSLATION PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
76 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK CITY

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INTRODUCTION

Among the works of Cicero that we study today probably none shows the philosophy of this great Roman more than these two essays. Although originating nothing, Cicero for the most part maintains the principles of the Stoics who believed that Virtue alone should be the guiding star of all existence.

Marcus Tullius Cicero, who became the greatest Latin prose-writer and orator of ancient Rome, was born at Arpinum of wealthy parents. From early days he showed remarkable powers. But his brilliant political life and successes made for him powerful enemies from whom he had to flee for his life. On one of these occasions he established himself at Athens, where he perfected himself in the art of oratory. Cicero soon became a follower of Greek philosophy which he had already studied in Rome under the Poet Archias and others.

Cicero was a friend of Pompey. He bitterly opposed Caesar and later Antony (after the assassination of Caesar). When Antony came into power, he demanded the death of Cicero, who was finally captured and put to death. In those days the unsuccessful political candidate usually paid with his life. So ended Cicero, one of the most distinguished Romans that ever lived.

But to return once more to the two Essays we find that upon the overthrow of Pompey and the subsequent rise to power of Julius Caesar, Cicero retired from an active political life. He devoted his time to study, writing and philosophy.

The essay on Old Age was probably written just after the death of Caesar (March 15, 44 B. C.) although many competent authorities place the date as just before this momentous event.

The essay itself was written to his dear friend Titus Atticus, who was at this time 65 years old. (Cicero was 62.) The purpose of the essay was to alleviate the dread of old age by applying the principles of philosophy. Cicero himself testifies to the comfort afforded him in setting down the arguments and hoped that his friend Atticus would also be comforted.

There is no doubt but that Cicero had in mind a political purpose, too. By contrasting the era of the Punic wars (which he regarded as the golden age of Roman politics, self-sacrificing patriotism and serious simplicity) with the pleasure-loving time in which he was living, he wished to create a popular admiration for the stern principles adhered to in the former age.

The Essays on Old Age and Friendship are written in the form of a dialogue, copying somewhat the style of Aristotle. One person really creates all the discussion or rather exposition, for there is no debate. The minor characters are merely placed there to make the Treatise appear as if the discussion actually took place.

The essay opens with a brief introduction. Scipio and Laelius, who are visiting Cato, are led to wonder how it is that Cato seems to enjoy old age so much when other elderly men are constantly complaining about their advancing years. In reply Cato proceeds to defend Old Age by outlining the various arguments usually set forth against senility and then proceeds to show how groundless these are.

M. Porcius Cato at the time of this alleged conversation was 84 (one year before his death in 149 B. C.). He was born on a small farm in the ancient Latin town of Tusculum. He rose to power at an early age and for many years was the most influential man in Rome. Throughout his life he was an active enemy against the luxury, immorality and corruption of his times. Although sincere and honest in his denunciations, he nevertheless used his frequent outbursts against the iniquities of the Roman leaders to further his personal ambitions and narrow-minded conservatism.

All his life Cato was opposed to the teachings and influence of the Greeks. Only in his declining years did he turn to the creative genius of Greece. It is, then, not the real Cato we find in the essay on Old Age declaiming philosophy of the Greeks, but rather a marionette whose strings are guided by the unseen hands of Cicero, himself.

The Scipio of this essay was a son of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia. But Scipio took his name from his foster father P. Cornelius Scipio (son of the famous

Africanus). At the time of the conversation he was about 35 years of age. The friendship Scipio bore for Cato was somewhat remarkable, considering the vicious verbal attacks of Cato against Scipio Africanus and his brother Asiaticus, which proved to be the downfall of these two great Romans.

Laelius was Scipio's most intimate friend. He was an able soldier, speaker and writer. Throughout life he was an exponent of Greek learning and Stoic philosophy.

* * * *

The Essay on Friendship was probably written by Cicero shortly after his Essay on Old Age. Here again the influence of Greek philosophy is clearly shown.

The essay, although doubtless intended as a popular treatise of the subject, was dedicated to his friend Atticus. This friendship had begun in early life when both were students together. Atticus never entered public life, preferring to devote his time to literary and philosophical studies. For over twenty years he lived in Athens, so that he might be in closer touch with the center of Greek culture.

The conversation of the essay takes place in 129 B. C. Fannius and Scaevola come to the house of their father-in-law, Gaius Laelius, who is mourning the recent death of his dear friend, Scipio.

In the course of conversation the subject of Laelius's lifelong friendship for Scipio is discussed; the two younger men request Laelius's views on friendship which he thereupon proceeds to expound.

The Laelius of this essay is the same man we have read about in the Essay on Old Age. He bore the title of Sapiens, probably more because of his good common-sense and wisdom in practical affairs than because of his scholarly attainments in literature and Greek philosophy.

Scaevola and Fannius were both sons-in-law of Laelius. Both, likewise, rose to prominence in public life, for each became consul. Their importance in this essay, however, is but slight, for the duty of carrying on the discussion is left entirely to Laelius.

INTRODUCTION

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Cicero's famous speech in behalf of Milo delivered in 52 B.C., is considered by most authorities to be Cicero's greatest oration. At the time, however, it proved ineffective; and Milo was banished from the country.

In those days, P. Clodius Pulcher and T. Annius Milo were both powerful men in Rome, but they were as violent and unscrupulous as they were powerful. Each one hated the other, so that conflicts often occurred between them.

One day Milo, while on his way to Lanuvium, where he was the dictator (or chief magistrate), chanced to meet his old enemy, Clodius. Both, as usual, were protected by armed attendants. It was not long before these guards started to fight. Clodius, who joined in the affair, was forced to retreat to a nearby house from which he was dragged out and killed.

Friends of Clodius then brought the body back to Rome where an excited mob carried it to the Senate-House. There a funeral pyre was made from benches, tables and books. The fire, which was kindled, destroyed the Senate-House and several adjoining buildings. Rome was now in such a state of excitement that Pompey was chosen by the Senate to establish order. He brought Milo to trial charged with the death of Clodius. Cicero attempted to defend his friend on this occasion, but the armed soldiers and friends of Clodius that thronged the court intimidated him so that his plea failed, and Milo was banished to Marseilles.

Afterwards, Cicero re-wrote his impassioned speech and added considerably to it. The present speech, that is read today, embodies this revision.

CICERO DE SENECTUTE.



I.—(1) O Tite, si quid ego adjuvero ve levasso curam
O Titus, if in aught I should have helped or lightened the care
quæ nunc coquit et versat te fixa in pectore erit
which now harasses and vexes you implanted in (your) breast, will (there) be
ecquid præmi? enim mihi licet affari te eisdem versibus, Attice,
any reward? For I may address you with the same lines, Atticus,
quibus ille vir cum haud magna fortuna sed plenus fidei affatur
as that hero with no great fortune but full of loyalty addresses
Flamininum. Quamquam certo sciò te, Tite, non
Flamininus. Though I surely know (that) you, Titus, are not
sollicitari sic ut Flamininum que noctes que dies. Enim
troubled in such wise as Flamininus, both night and day. For
novi moderationem et æquitatem tui animi que intelligo
I know the regularity and evenness of your mind, and I understand
te deportasse Athenis non solum cognomen, sed
(that) you have brought from Athens, not only (your) title, but
humanitatem et prudentiam. Et tamen suspicor te
culture and wisdom. And yet I suspect (that) you are
interdum gravius commoveri eisdem rebus quibus me ipsum,
sometimes more seriously affected by the same things as myself,
consolatio quarum est et major et differenda in aliud
the solace for which is both more important, and to be put off to another
tempus. Autem nunc est visum mihi conscribere aliquid
time. But now it has seemed good to me to write something
ad te de senectute. (2) Enim volo et te et me ipsum levare
to you about old age. For I wish both you and myself to be relieved
hoc onere quod est commune mihi cum te senectutis aut jam
of this weight, which is common to me with you, of old age either now

urgentis aut certe adventantis: etsi scio certo
pressing (on us), or, at any rate, advancing: though I know for certain (that)
 te quidem et ferre et laturum esse id modice et sapienter
you, indeed, both bear and will bear it with moderation and wisdom,
 sicut omnia. Sed tu occurrebas mihi dignus eo munere
as (you bear) everything. But you occurred to me (as) worthy of such an offering
 quo uterque nostrum uteretur communiter. Mihi quidem confectio
as each of us might enjoy in common. To me, indeed, the composition
 hujus libri fuit ita jucunda ut non modo absterserit omnes
of this book has been so pleasant that not only has (it) wiped out all
 molestias senectutis sed etiam effecerit senectutem mollem et
the trouble of old age, but has even made old age mild and
 jucundam. Nunquam igitur poterit philosophia laudari digne
pleasant. Never, therefore, can philosophy be praised worthily
 satis, qui paret cui possit degere omne tempus ætatis sine
enough, (since) he who obeys it can spend every period of life without
 molestia. (3) Sed de ceteris et diximus multa et
trouble. But of everything else we have both spoken much, and shall
 sæpe dicemus: hunc librum de senectute misimus ad te. Autem
often speak: this book on old age we have sent to you. But
 omnem sermonem tribuimus non Tithono, ut Aristo Chios,
the whole discourse we assign not to Tithonus, as Aristo of Chios (does)—
 enim esset parum auctoritatis in fabula, sed M. Catoni
for (there) would be too little weight in the story—but to Marcus Cato
 seni quo oratio haberet majorem auctoritatem. Facimus
the elder, in order that the speech might have greater influence. We represent
 Lælium et Scipionem apud quem admirantes quod is ferat senectutem
Lælius and Scipio in his house wondering that he bears old age
 tam facile que eum respondentem iis. Si qui videbitur disputare
so easily, and him answering them. And if he shall seem to argue
 eruditius quam ipse consuevit in suis libris attribuito
more learnedly than he is wont (to do) in his own books, you must put (it) down
 Græcis litteris quarum constat eum fuisse perstudiosum in
to Greek literature of which it is known (that) he was very fond in
 senectute. Sed quid opus est. plura? Enim jam
(his) old age. But what need is (there to say) more? For now
 sermo Catonis ipsius explicabit omnem nostram sententiam de
the discourse of Cato himself will unfold all our ideas on
 senectute.
old age.

II.—(4) Sæpenumero soleo admirari cum Caio Lælio hoc
Very often I am wont to wonder with Caius Lælius here
 quum tuam excellentem que perfectam sapientiam ceterarum
 (at) both your splendid and perfect wisdom in all other
 rerum tum vel maxime quod nunquam senserim
matters, and also most especially because I have never perceived (that)
 senectutem esse gravem tibi quæ plerisque senibus est sic odiosa.
old age is burdensome to you, which to most old men is so hateful
 ut dicant se sustinere onus gravius Ætna. Vide-
that they say (that) they bear a burden heavier than Ætna. You
 mini admirari, Scipio et Læli, rem haud sane difficilem.
seem to wonder, Scipio and Lælius, (at) a matter not indeed difficult.
 Enim omnis ætas est gravis iis quibus est nihil opis
For every age is burdensome to those who have no resources
 in ipsis ad vivendum bene que beate: enim qui petunt
in themselves for living well and happily: for those who seek
 omnia bona a se ipsis, iis nihil potest videri malum
all blessings from themselves, to them nothing can seem evil
 quod necessitas naturæ afferat. In quo genere est
which the fixed law of nature brings. And in this class is
 imprimis senectus quam omnes optant ut adipiscantur,
more especially old age which all wish to obtain, and
 accusant eandem adeptam: tanta est inconstantia et perversitas
find fault with it when obtained: so great is the inconsistency and the perversity
 stultitiæ. Aiunt eam obrepere citius quam putassent.
of folly. They say (that) it comes on quicker than they would have thought.
 Primum, quis coegit eos putare falsum? Enim quî senectus
First, who compelled them to think falsely? For how does old age
 obrepat adolescentiæ citius quam adolescentia pueritiæ? Deinde,
come on manhood more quickly than manhood on boyhood? Next,
 quî senectus esset minus gravis iis si agerent
how would old age be less burdensome to them if they were passing their
 octingentesimum annum quam octogesimum? Enim præterita
eight hundredth year than their eightieth? For past
 ætas quamvis longa quum effluxisset posset nulla
time, however long, when (once) it had streamed by, could by no
 consolatione permulcere stultam senectutem. (5) Quocirca si
solace soothe a foolish old age. Wherefore, if
 soletis admirari meam sapientiam (utinam quæ esset digna
you are wont to admire my philosophy (and would that it were worthy

vestra opinione que nostro cognomine) sumus sapientes in hoc
of your (high) opinion and of my surname) we are philosophers in this
 quod sequimur naturam optimam ducem tanquam deum que
that we follow nature, the best guide, like a deity and
 paremus ei, est non verisimile quum ceteræ partes
obey her: (for) it is not likely (that) when the rest of the stages
 vitæ sint bene descriptæ a qua extremum actum
of life have been (so) well marked out by her, the last act
 esse neglectum tanquam ab inerti poeta. Sed tamen
should have been omitted as by an unskilful poet. But yet
 fuit necesse esse aliquid extremum et tanquam in
it was necessary that there should be some last (point), and, as in
 baccis arborum que frugibus terræ tempestiva maturitate,
the berries of trees and the fruits of the earth of seasonable ripeness,
 aliquid quasi vietum et caducum quod est ferendum molliter
something as it were bending and ready to fall, which is to be borne equably
 sapienti. Enim quid aliud pugnare cum diis modo
by a philosopher. For what else is fighting with the gods after the manner
 gigantum nisi repugnare naturæ? (6) LÆL. Atqui, Cato, feceris
of giants, but fighting against nature? LÆL. And yet, Cato, you will
 nobis gratissimum—ut pollicear pro Scipione etiam—si,
do us a great favour—that I may promise for Scipio also—if,
 quoniam speramus certe quidem volumus fieri senes,
as we hope (or) at any rate indeed wish to become old men, we
 didicerimus multo ante a te quibus rationibus possimus
shall have learnt long beforehand from you by what means we can
 facillime ferro ingravescentem senectutem. CATO. Faciam
most easily bear the growing burden of old age. CATO. I will do (so)
 certo, Læli, præsertim si futurum est gratum utrique vestrum,
certainly Lælius, especially if it will be pleasing to each of you,
 ut dicis. LÆL. Sane volumus, Cato, nisi est molestum, tanquam
as you say. LÆL. Indeed we wish, Cato, unless it is a trouble, just as if you
 confeceris aliquam longam viam quam nobis quoque ingre-
have completed some long journey which we also must
 diendum sit, videre quale sit istuc quo
enter on, to see what the character is (of) that (point) at which you have
 perveneris.
arrived,

III.—(7) *Faciam ut potero, Læli, enim sæpe interfui*
I will do it as far as I can, Lælius, for I have often been present
querelis meorum æqualium, autem pares facillime congregantur
at the complaints of my contemporaries; for equals most easily associate
cum paribus *vetere proverbio, quo C. Salinator que*
with equals, according to an ancient proverb: in which C. Salinator and
Sp. Albinus homines consulares fere nostri æquales solebant
Sp. Albinus, men of consular rank and almost our contemporaries, were wont
deplorare tum quod carerent voluptatibus sine quibus putarent
to lament both that they lacked pleasures without which they thought
vitam nullam tum quod spernerentur ab iis a quibus
life of no value, and also that they were despised by those by whom they
soliti essent coli. *Qui videbantur mihi non accusare*
had been accustomed to be respected. And they seemed to me not to be blaming
id quod esset accusandum. Nam si id accideret culpa
that which was worthy of blame. For if that happened through the fault
senectutis eadem venirent mihi usu omnibusque reliquis
of old age, the same would come to my experience, and to all the other
majoribus natu, *multorum quorum ego cognovi senectutem*
elders, in the case of many of whom I have known an old age
sine querela, qui non ferrent moleste se esse laxatos
without complaint, (men) who did not take it hard that they were set free
vinculis libidinum nec despicerentur a suis. *Sed*
from the bonds of passion, and were not despised by their own friends. But
omnium querelarum istiusmodi culpa est in moribus, non in
for all complaints of that kind the fault is in the character, and not in
ætate. Enim moderati senes et nec difficiles nec
the age. For temperate old men, and who are neither cross-grained nor
inhumani agunt tolerabilem senectutem. Autem importunitas et
churlish, spend a passable old age. But importunity and
inhumanitas est molesta omni ætati. (8) *LÆL. Est ut dicis,*
churlishness is troublesome to any age. LÆL. It is as you say,
Cato; sed fortasse quispiam dixerit tuam senectutem videri tolera-
Cato; but perhaps some one may say that your old age seems more
biliorem tibi propter opes et copias et dignitatem, autem
passable to you on account of your wealth and resources and rank, but that
id non posse contingere multis. *CATO. Est aliquid quidem istuc,*
this cannot fall to the lot of many. CATO There is something indeed in that,
Læli, sed nequaquam omnia sunt in isto. Ut Themistocles
Lælius, but by no means everything is contained in it. As Themistocles

fertur respondisse cuidam Seriphio in jurgio quum
is said to have made answer to a certain Seriphian in a quarrel, when the
 ille dixisset eum assecutum splendorem non sua
Seriphian said that Themistocles had won fame not through his own,
 sed patriæ gloria: Hercule, inquit, si ego essem Seriphius nec
but his country's glory: In truth, said he, if I were a Seriphian I should
 unquam (fuissem) nobilis, nec si tu esses Atheniensis unquam
never have been famous, nor if you were an Athenian would you ever
 fuisses clarus. Quod potest dici eodem modo de senectute.
have been renowned. And this can be said in the same way of old age.
 Enim nec in summa inopia potest senectus esse levis ne quidem
For neither in extremest want can old age be light, not even
 sapienti, nec non gravis insipienti etiam in
to a philosopher, nor can it fail to be burdensome to a non-philosopher, even in
 summa copia. (9) Omnino aptissima arma senectutis, Scipio et
the greatest plenty. By far the fittest weapons of old age, Scipio and
 Læli, sunt artes que exercitationes virtutum quæ in omni ætate
Lælius, are the exercise and practice of virtues, which in every age
 cultæ efferunt mirificos fructus quum vixeris multum
if cultivated bring forth wondrous fruit when you have lived much
 que diu, non solum quia nunquam deserunt, ne quidem extremo
and long, not only because they never leave us, not even at the furthest
 tempore ætatis, quamquam id quidem est maximum, verum etiam
limit of age, although that indeed is the greatest (point), but also
 quia conscientia bene actæ vitæ que recordatio multorum
because the consciousness of a well-spent life and recollection of many
 benefactorum est jucundissima.
good deeds is most pleasant.

IV.—(10) Ego adolescens dilexi Q. Maximum, eum qui
I when a young man loved Q. Maximus (the one who
 recepit Tarentum senem ita ut æqualem. Enim erat
recovered Tarentum), when an old man,—as a contemporary. For there was
 in illo viro gravitas condita comitate nec senectus mutaverat
in that man dignity seasoned with courtesy, nor had old age changed his
 mores; quamquam cœpi colere eum non admodum
character; although I began to cultivate him when not extremely
 grandem natu sed tamen jam provectum ætate. Enim fuerat
old but yet already advanced in years. For he was

Consul primum anno postquam ego sum natus que cum eo
Consul for the first time the year after I was born, and with him
 quartum consule profectus sum ad Capuam miles adolescentulus,
in his 4th consulship I set out to Capua as a soldier in early manhood,
 que quinto anno post ad Tarentum. Deinde quadriennio post
and in the 5th year afterwards to Tarentum. Then four years afterwards

factus sum quæstor, quem magistratum gessi consulibus Tudi-
I was made quæstor, which office I held in the consulship of Tudi-
 tano et Cethego, quum quidem ille admodum senex fuit suasor
tanus and Cethegus, when, indeed, he a very old man was a supporter

Cincis legis de donis et muneribus. Hic et gerebat bella ut
of the Cincian Law about gifts and presents. He both waged war as

adolescens quum esset plane grandis et sua patientia mollebat
a young man when he was distinctly old, and by his patience toned down

Annibalem exsultantem juveniliter; de quo noster
Hannibal, prancing like a young man; concerning whom our

familiaris Ennius præclare: Unus homo cunctando restitit
friend Ennius excellently (writes): One man by delaying restored

nobis rem, enim non ponebat rumores ante salutem, ergo postque
to us the State, for he did not prefer fame to safety, therefore afterwards

magisque gloria viri nunc claret. (11) Vero qua vigi-
more and more the fame of the hero now shines. But with what watch-

lantia quo consilio recepit Tarentum quum quidem me
fulness and with what judgment he recovered Tarentum when indeed in my

audiente Salinatori, qui amisso oppido fugerat in
hearing (he said) to Salinator,—who after losing the town had fled into the

arcem, glorianti atque dicenti ita, Mea opera, Q. Fabi, recepisti
citadel,—when boasting and saying thus, “By my help, Q. Fabius, you recovered

Tarentum, Certe inquit, ridens, nam nisi tu amisisses nun-
Tarentum,” “Certainly,” said he, smiling, “for unless you had lost it I should

quam recepissem. Nec vero præstantior in armis quam in
never have recovered it.” Nor indeed was he more excellent in war than in

toga, qui Consul iterum, collega Sp. Carvilio
civil life; for he when Consul a second time, when his colleague Sp. Carvilius

quiescente, restitit quoad potuit C. Flamini tribuno plebis
remained inactive, withstood as long as he could C. Flaminius tribune of the people,

dividenti Picentem et Gallicum agrum viritim con-
when proposing to divide the Picene and Gallic lands man by man in oppo-

tra auctoritatem Senatus, que quum esset augur ausus est
sition to the power of the Senate, and when he was augur he dared

dicere ea quæ gererentur pro salute rei publicæ geri
to say that those measures which were carried for the safety of the State were carried
 optimis auspiciis, quæ ferrentur contra
under the best auspices, and those which were brought forward in opposition to
 rem publicam ferri contra auspicia. (12) Cognovi
the State, were brought forward in opposition to the auspices. I know

multa præclara in eo viro sed nihil est admirabilius quam quo-
many excellent points in that man, but nothing is more wonderful than the way
 modo ille tulit mortem filii, clari viri et consularis.
in which he bore the death of his son, an illustrious man and of consular rank.

Laudatio est in manibus quum legimus quam, quem philosophum
The panegyric is in our hands, and when we read it, what philosopher
 non contemnimus? Nec vero ille magnus in luce modo atque
do we not despise? Nor indeed was he great in the public light only and

in oculis civium, sed intus domique præstantior!
before the eyes of citizens, but in private and at home even more excellent!

qui sermo! quæ præcepta! quanta notitia antiquitatis! quæ scientia
What language! what maxims! what a knowledge of antiquity! what skill in

juris augurii! Multæ litteræ enim ut in homine Romano. Tene-
the law of augury. Much literary power also for a Roman. He re-

bat omnia memoria non solum domestica sed etiam externa
tained everything in his memory, not only civil but also foreign

bella. Cujus sermone tunc cupide fruebar ita quasi jam
wars. And his conversation I, at that time, eagerly drank in, just as if I already

divinare id quod evenit, illo extincto fore neminem
foreboded (what actually happened) that after his decease there would be no one

unde discerem.
from whom I could learn.

V.—(13) Quorsum igitur hæc tam multa de Maximo?
To what purpose then are these so many words about Maximus?

Quia profecto videtis esse nefas dictu talem senectutem fuisse
Because, indeed, you see, that it is wicked to say that such an old age was

miseram: nec tamen possunt omnes esse Scipiones aut Maximi, ut
wretched: nor, however, can all men be Scipios or Maximi, so as

recordarentur expugnationes urbium, pugnas pedestres ve navales;
to remember the storming of cities, battles by land or sea;

ut bella gesta a se ut triumphos. Etiam senectus ætatis actæ
wars waged by them or triumphs. Moreover, the old age of a life spent

quiete et pure et eleganter est placida ac lenis, qualem
peacefully and in chastity and in refinement is calm and quiet, as we
 accepimus

Platonis qui mortuus est scribens octogesimo
have heard was the case with Plato, who died writing in his eighty-

uno anno; qualem Isocratis qui dicit se scripsisse eum
first year; as was the case with Isocrates, who says that he wrote that

librum qui inscribitur Panathenaicus nonagesimo quarto anno que
book which is entitled Panathenaicus in his ninety-fourth year, and

vixit quinquennium postea; cujus magister Gorgias Leontinus
he lived for five years afterwards; and his master Gorgias of Leontini

complevit centum et septem annos neque unquam cessavit in suo
completed a hundred and seven years, and never slackened in his

studio atque opere. Qui cum quæretur ex eo cur vellet esse
pursuits and work. And he, when it was asked of him why he wished to be

tamdiu in vita inquit, Habeo nihil quod accusem senectutem.
so long in life, said, I have no reason to find fault with old age.

(14) Præclarum responsum et dignum docto homine. Enim
An excellent answer, and worthy of a learned man. For

insipientes conferunt in senectutem sua vitia et suam culpam;
non-philosophers ascribe to old age their own vices, and their own faults;

quod is Ennius cujus modo feci mentionem non faciebat;
a thing which that Ennius, of whom just now I made mention, did not do;

“Sicut fortis equus, qui sæpe vicit Olympia, supremo
“As a gallant steed, who has often won an Olympic victory, at the end of

spatio nunc quiescit confectus senio.” Senectuti fortis
the course now rests worn out with old age.” To the old age of a gallant

et victoris equi comparat suam. Quem quidem potestis probe
and victorious steed he compares his own. And him, indeed, you can well

meminisse. Enim undevicesimo anno post eius mortem hi
remember. For the nineteenth year after his death the present

Consules, T. Flaminius et M. Acilius sunt facti; autem ille
Consuls, T. Flaminius and Manius Acilius, were elected; now he

mortuus est consulibus Cæpione et iterum Philippo:
died in the consulship of Cæpio, and the second (consulship) of Philippus:

cum ego quidem natus annos sexaginta quinque suasi Voconiam
when I, indeed, at the age of sixty-five, supported the Voconian

legem magna voce et bonis lateribus. Sed natus
law, with a loud voice and good lungs. But at the age of

septuaginta annos, enim tot Ennius vixit, ferebat quæ
seventy, for so long did Ennius live, he endured what

putantur duo maxima onera, paupertatem, et senectutem,
are considered the two greatest burdens, poverty, and old age,

ita ut pene videretur delectari eis. (15) Etenim cum
in such a way that he almost seemed to delight in them. For, indeed, when

contemplor animo reperio quattuor causas cur senectus videatur
I consider in my mind, I find four reasons why old age seems

misera: unam quod avocet a gerendis rebus; alteram
wretched: the first, because it calls us away from active business; the second,

quod faciat corpus infirmius; tertiam quod privet fere
because it makes the body weaker; the third, because it deprives us of almost

omnibus voluptatibus; quartam quod haud procul absit a
all pleasures; the fourth, because it is not far removed from

morte. Videamus si placet quanta quo quam justa unaquæque
death. Let us see, if you please, how great and how just each

harum causarum sit.
of these causes is.

VI.—Senectus abstrahit a gerendis rebus. Quibus? An

Old age removes us from public business. Of what kind? Is it
 eis quæ geruntur juventute et viribus? Sunt-ne nullæ res
that which is carried on by youth and strength? Is there no business

igitur seniles quæ vel infirmis corporibus tamen
then of old age which, even in the case of the weakest bodies, can yet

administrentur animo? Ergo Q. Maximus agebat nihil. Nihil
be carried on by the mind? Then Q. Maximus did nothing. Nor

Lucius Paulus, tuus pater, Scipio, socer optimi viri
Lucius Paulus, your father, Scipio, and the father-in-law of an excellent man,

mei filii. Cæteri senes, Fabricii, Curii, Coruncanii cum
my son. All the other old men, the Fabricii, Curii, and the Coruncanii, when

defendebant rem publicam consilio et auctoritate agebant nihil.
defending the State with judgment and influence, did nothing.

(16) Ad senectutem Appi Claudii accedebat etiam ut esset

To the old age of Appius Claudius was added also the misfortune of being
 cæcus; tamen is, cum sententia Senatus inclinaret ad faciendum
blind; yet he, when the opinion of the Senate was disposed to make

pacem quæ fœdus cum Pyrrho non dubitaret dicere illa quæ Ennius
peace and a treaty with Pyrrhus, did not hesitate to say what Ennius

persecutus est versibus, "Quo viai vobis mentes quæ antehac
has followed out in verse, "In what direction have your minds, which formerly

sclebant stare rectæ flexere sese dementes?" que cætera
were wont to stand upright, turned themselves to madness?" and all the rest of it

gravissime: enim carmen est notum vobis, et tamen oratio
with a most serious air: for the poem is known to you, and yet the speech

Appi ipsius extat. Atque hæc ipse egit septendecim annis
of Appius himself is extant. And this he did seventeen years

post alterum consulatum, cum decem anni interfuissent inter duos
after his second consulship, whereas ten years had intervened between the two

consulatus, fuisset-que censor ante superiorem consulatum;
consulships, and he had been censor previous to his former consulship;

ex quo intelligitur bello Pyrrhi fuisse grandem sane: et
whence it is understood that in the war with Pyrrhus he was old indeed; and

tamen accepimus sic a patribus. (17) Igitur afferunt
yet we have received this account from our fathers. Therefore, they assert

nihil qui negant senectutem versari in gerenda re;
nothing to the purpose, who deny that old age is engaged in active business;

sunt-que similes ut si qui dicant gubernatorem agere nihil in
and they are like those who say that a pilot does nothing on

navigando, cum alii scandant malos, alii cursent per
a voyage, while some are scaling the masts, others are running about

foros, alii exhaustiant sentinam, autem ille tenens clavum
the hatchways, and others pumping out the bilge water, but he, holding the tiller,

sedeat quietus in puppi. Non facit ea quæ juvenes
sits quietly at the stern. He does not do the same things as the young men,

at vero facit multo majora et meliora. Magnæ res
but indeed he performs duties much greater and better. Great deeds

non geruntur viribus aut velocitatibus aut celeritate corporis, sed
are not done by strength or by speed, or by activity of body, but

consilio, auctoritate, sententia; senectus solet non modo non
by judgment, influence, and opinion; and old age is wont not only not

orbari quibus, sed etiam augeri. (18) Nisi forte
to be deprived of these, but even to have them in increase. Unless by chance

ego—qui et miles et tribunus et legatus et Consul, sum
I—who, both as a soldier and a tribune, and lieutenant and consul, was

versatus in vario genere bellorum—nunc videor vobis cessare
engaged in various kinds of wars—now seem to you to be inactive

cum non gero bella. At præscribo Senatui quæ gerenda sint
when I no longer carry on war. But I dictate to the Senate what must be done

et quomodo: Cathagini jam diu cogitanti bellum
and how: in the case of Carthage, who has long been plotting war

male denuntio multo ante, non desinam vereri
in evil manner, I give notice long beforehand, nor shall I cease to fear
 de qua antequam cognovero illam esse excisam.
concerning her before I have learned that she has been utterly destroyed.

(19) Utinam immortales di reservent quam palmam tibi,
And would that the immortal gods might reserve this prize for you,
 Scipio, ut persequare reliquias avi, a cujus
Scipio, to complete the unfinished work of your grandfather, from whose
 morte hic est tricesimus et tertius annus: sed omnes consequentes
death this is the thirty-third year: but every successive
 anni excipient memoriam illius viri. Mortuus est anno ante me
year will sustain the memory of that man. He died the year before my
 censorem, novem annis post meum consulatum, cum esset creatu
consulship, and nine years after my consulship, whilst he was elected
 Consul iterum me Consule. Igitur si vixisset ad
Consul for the second time in my consulship. Well then, if he had lived to
 centesimum annum num eum poeniteret suæ senectutis? Enim
his hundredth year, would he have regretted his old age? For

uteretur neque excursione nec saltu nec hastis eminus
he would employ neither rapid marching nor bounding, nor spears from a distance
 aut gladiis oominus, sed consilio, ratione, sententia. Nisi
nor swords hand to hand, but judgment, method, and thought. And, unless

quæ essent in senibus nostri majores non appellassent
these elements existed in old men, our ancestors would not have called
 summum consilium Senatum. (20) Apud Lacedæmonios quidem
the chief council the Senate. At Sparta, indeed,

ei qui gerunt amplissimum magistratum, ut sunt, sic
those who hold the highest office, as they are in fact, so
 etiam nominantur senes. Quod si voletis legere aut audire
also are called old men. But if you wish to read or to hear of

externa, reperietis maximas res publicas labefactas
foreign matters, you will find that the greatest States have been undermined
 ab adolescentibus, sustentatas et restitutas a senibus. Cedo qui
by young men, but supported and restored by old men. Tell me, how
 amisistis vestram tantam rempublicam tam cito? Enim sic
did you lose your great State so quickly? For thus is
 percontantur ut est in poetæ Nævi Ludo. Et alia respondentur
the question put, as it is in the poet Nævius' Ludus. Both other answers are given,

et hoc in primis: "Proveniebant novi oratores, stulti adolescentuli."
and this especially: "There came forth new orators, foolish young men."

Videlicet temeritas est florentis ætatis, prudentia senescentis.
Indeed, rashness belongs to the flower of life, wisdom to old age.

VII.—(21) At memoria minuitur. Credo, nisi
But (you will say) memory fades. I believe you, unless
 exerceas eam, aut si sis tardior natura. Themistocles
you exercise it, or if you are somewhat slow by nature. Themistocles
 perceperat nomina omnium civium. Num igitur censetis eum,
knew the names of all the citizens. Do you then think that he,
 cum processisset ætate, solitum salutare Lysimachum qui esset
when he was advanced in years, was wont to greet as Lysimachus one who was
 Aristides? Equidem non modo novi eos qui sunt, sed etiam
Aristides? I, indeed, not only know those who still exist, but also
 eorum patres et avos. Nec vereor ne legens sepulchra
their fathers and grandfathers. Nor do I fear that when reading epitaphs
 perdam memoriam, ut aiunt; enim legendis his ipsis
I shall lose my memory, as they say; for by reading these very epitaphs
 redeo in memoriam mortuorum. Nec vero audiavi quemquam
I return to the memory of the dead. Nor, indeed, have I heard that any
 senem oblitum quo obruisset thesaurum. Meminerunt omnia
old man forgot where he had buried his treasure. They remember everything
 quæ curant; vadimonia, constituta; qui debeant sibi, cui
that they care about; sureties, appointments; who owe them, whom
 ipsi. (22) Quid jurisconsulti, quid pontifices, quid augures,
they owe themselves. What of lawyers, what of priests, what of augurs,
 quid philosophi, senes, quam multa meminerunt! Ingenia
what of philosophers, in old age, how many things they remember! Intellect
 manent senibus modo studium et industria permâneat; ea nec
survives in old men provided that zeal and energy survive; and that not
 solum in claris et honoratis viris, sed etiam in privata
only in the case of renowned and distinguished men, but even in private
 et quieta vita. Sophocles fecit tragœdias ad summam senectutem:
and retired life. Sophocles composed tragedies up to extreme old age:
 cum propter quod studium videretur negligere familiarem
and when on account of this pursuit he seemed to be neglecting his family
 rem vocatus est in iudicium a filiis ut quemadmodum
affairs he was summoned to trial by his sons, in order that just as,

nostro more patribus gerentibus rem male solet
according to our custom, when fathers manage their business badly they are wont
 interdicti bonis, sic iudices removerent illum quasi
to be interdicted from their property, so the Court might remove him as
 desipientem a familiari re. Tum senex
an imbecile from the management of his family affairs. Then the old man
 dicitur recitasse iudicibus eam fabulam quam habebat in manibus
is said to have recited to the Court that play which he had in his hands
 et proxime scripserat, Œdipum Coloneum, que quævisse num
and had lately written, Œdipus of Colonus; and to have asked if
 illud carmen videretur desipientis. Quo recitato
that poem seemed the work of an imbecile. And after this recitation
 est liberatus sententiis iudicum. (23) Num senectus igitur
he was acquitted by the verdict of the Court. Did old age then
 coegit hunc, num Homerum, num Hesiodum, Simonidem, Stesi-
compel him, or Homer, or Hesiod, Simonides, Stesi-
 chorum, num quos dixi ante, Isocratem, Gorgiam,
chorus, or those whom I have mentioned before, Isocrates, Gorgias,
 num principes philosophorum Pythagoram, Democritum, num
or the chiefs of philosophers Pythagoras, Democritus, or
 Platonem, num Xenocratem, num postea Zenonem, Cleanthem,
Plato, or Xenocrates, or later, Zeno, Cleanthes,
 aut eum quem vos etiam vidistis Romæ, Diogenem Stoicum,
or him whom you also have seen at Rome, Diogenes the Stoic,
 obmutescere in suis studiis, an in omnibus his fuit agitatio
to be dumb in their own pursuits, or in the case of all these was the activity
 studiorum æqualis vitæ? (24) Age ut omittamus ista
of their pursuits coeval with their life? Come now, to leave out those
 divina studia, possum nominare ex Sabino agro Romanos rusticos,
higher pursuits, I can mention from the Sabine district Roman country-folk,
 meos vicinos et familiares, quibus absentibus fere nunquam ulla
my neighbours and friends, in whose absence scarcely ever are any
 maiora opera fiunt in agro, non serendis, non
of the more important works carried on on the land, either in sowing, or
 percipiendis, non condendis fructibus. Quamquam in aliis
in reaping or in storing the crops. Although in the case of other things
 hoc minus mirum. Enim est nemo tam senex qui non putet se
this is less wonderful. For there is no one so old as not to think that he
 posse vivere annum: sed idem elaborant in eis quæ sciunt
can live for a year: but yet these work hard in those matters which they know

nihil pertinere ad se omnino: "Serit arbores quæ prosint alteri
do not belong to them at all: "He plants trees to profit the next
sæclo," ut noster Statius ait in Synephebis. (25) Neo
generation," as our Statius says in the Synephebi. Nor

agricola quamvis senex dubitet respondere quærenti
should the husbandman, however old, hesitate to answer to the question
cui serat: "Immortalibus Dis, qui voluerunt me
for whom he is sowing: "For the immortal gods, who have chosen that I
non modo accipere hæc a maioribus sed etiam prodere
should not only receive these from my ancestors, but also hand them down
posteris."
to my successors."

VIII. Melius quam illud idem Cæcilius de sene

Better still than this which follows, Cæcilius speaks of an old man
prospiciente alteri sæculo, "Edèpol, senectus, si apportes nil
looking out into the next generation, "By heaven, old age, if you bring no
quidquam aliud viti tecum quum advenis, id unum est sat,
other defect with you when you come, that one thing is sufficient,
quod vivendo diu videt multa quæ non volt." Et
that by living long a man sees many things which he does not wish." And
fortasse multa quæ volt; atque sæpe adulescentia etiam
perhaps, many things which he does wish; and often early manhood also
incurrit in ea quæ non volt. Vero illud idem Cæcilius vitio-
rushes into things which it does not wish. But here again Cæcilius is more
sius, "Tum equidem deuto hoc miserrimum in
at fault, "Then, indeed, I think this the most wretched point in
senecta, sentire ea ætate ipsum esse odiosum alteri."
old age, to feel at that time that one is hateful to one's neighbour."

(26) Jucundum potius quam odiosum. Enim ut sapientes senes
Pleasant rather than hateful. For as wise old men
delectantur adolescentibus præditis bona indole, senectus-
are delighted with young men endowed with a good disposition, and the
que eorum qui coluntur et diliguntur a juventute fit levior,
old age of those who are respected and loved by youth is made lighter,
sic adolescentes gaudent præceptis quibus ducuntur ad studia
so young men rejoice in the maxims by which they are led to the pursuit
virtutum. Nec intellego me esse minus jucundum vobis
of virtue. Nor do I understand that I am less pleasant to you

quam vos mihi. Sed videtis ut senectus sit non modo non languida
than you to me. But you see how old age is not only not weak
 atque iners, verum etiam sit operosa et semper agens et
and inactive, but also that it is full of work, and always doing and
 moliens aliquid; tale scilicet quale fuit studium cuiusque supe-
contriving something; such, indeed, as formed the pursuit of each in his
 riore vita. Quid qui etiam addiscunt aliquid?
former life. And what of those who even learn something in addition?
 ut videmus Solonem gloriantem versibus, qui dicit se fieri senem
as we see Solon boasting in verse, saying that he becomes old
 addiscentem aliquid cotidie: ut ego feci qui didici
learning something in addition every day: as I did who learnt
 Græcas litteras senex, quas quidem arripui sic avido quasi
Greek in my old age, which, indeed, I took up as eagerly as if
 cupiens explere diuturnam sitim, ut ea ipsa essent
wishing to quench a long-continued thirst, so that those very points might be
 nota mihi quibus nunc videtis me uti exemplis. Cum audirem
known by me which you now see me using as examples. And when I heard
 Socratem fecisse quod in fidibus, equidem vellem illud etiam,
that Socrates did this on the lyre, I indeed could wish for that also,
 enim antiqui discebant fidibus, sed certe elaboravi in
for the ancients used to teach by the lyre, but at least I have worked hard at
 litteris.
literature.

IX.—(27) Nec quidem nunc desidero vires adolescentis,
Nor, indeed, do I now pine for the strength of early manhood,
 enim is erat alter locus de vitiis senectutis, non plus quam
for that was another point in the defects of old age, no more than
 adulescens desiderabam tauri aut elephantis. Quod
as a young man I used to pine for that of a bull or an elephant. For that which
 est, eo decet uti, et quidquid agas (decet) agere pro
we have, that we ought to use, and whatever you do (you ought) to do according to
 viribus. Enim quæ vox potest esse contemptior quam Milonis
your strength. For what expression can be more despicable than that of Milo
 Crotoniæ? qui, cum esset jam senex videretque athletas exer-
of Croton? who, when he was now an old man and saw the athletes train-
 centes se in curriculo, dicitur adspexisse suos lacertos, que
ing in the course, is said to have looked at his arms, and to

dixisse illacrimans, "At hi quidem sunt jam mortui." Non
have remarked with tears, "Yet these indeed are now dead." Not
 vero isti tam quam tu ipse, nugator, enim neque unquam
indeed they so much as you yourself, trifler, for you have never
 es nobilitatus ex te sed ex tuis lateribus et lacertis.
become renowned owing to yourself, but owing to your sides and arms.

Sex. Ælius nihil tale, nihil Ti. Coruncanius multis annis
Sextius Ælius said nothing of this sort, nor Titus Coruncanius many years
 ante, nihil P. Crassus modo, a quibus jura præscribebantur
ago, nor Publius Crassus just now, by whom laws were set forth

civibus, quorum prudentia est provecta usque ad extremum
to the citizens, and whose wisdom was prolonged even to their last
 spiritum. (28) Metuo ne orator languescat senectute, enim
breath. I am afraid that the orator may pine through old age, for

ejus munus est non ingenii solum sed etiam laterum et virium.
his task belongs not to talent alone but also to lungs and strength.

Omnino illud canorum in voce etiam splendescit nescio quo
Altogether that harmony of voice even becomes resplendent in some way

pacto in senectute, quod equidem non adhuc amisi, et
or other in old age, which (harmony) I indeed have not hitherto lost, and

videtis annos. Sed tamen quietus et remissus sermo est decorus
you see my age. But yet a calm and easy conversation is becoming

seni, compta-que et mitis oratio disertis senis persæpe
to an old man, and a finished and gentle speech of an eloquent elder very often

facit audientiam ipsa sibi. Si nequeas exsequi quam ipse
makes an audience for itself. And if you are unable to follow out this for yourself

possis tamen præcipere Scipioni et Lælio. Enim quid jucun-
you can nevertheless teach it to Scipio and to Lælius. For what is more

dius senectute stipata studiis juventutis. (29) An ne
pleasant than old age attended by the zeal of youth. But are we not to

relinquemus quidem eas vires senectuti, ut doceat adolescentulos,
leave even that strength to old age, to teach young men,

instituat, instruat ad omne munus officii? Quidem quid
mould them, and train them to every task of duty? And, indeed, what

potest esse præclarius quo opere? Mihi vero Cn. et P.
can be more glorious than this work? To me, indeed, Cneius and Publius

Scipiones et tui duo avi L. Æmilius et P. Africanus
Scipio, and your two grandfathers Lucius Æmilius and Publius Africanus,

videbantur fortunati comitatu nobilium juvenum; nec ulli
seemed happy in their train of noble youths; nor are there any

magistri bonarum artium non putandi beati, quamvis
teachers of good qualities who ought not to be considered happy, although
vires consenuerint atque defecerint. Etsi ista ipsa defectio
their strength may have faded and failed. And yet that very failing
virium sæpius efficitur vitiis adolescentiæ quam senectutis;
of strength is oftener caused by the vices of early manhood than of old age;
enim adolescentia, libidinosa et intemperans, tradit effectum
for early manhood, full of passion and immoderate, hands over a worn-out
corpus senectuti. (30) Cyrus quidem, apud Xenophontem, eo
body to old age. Cyrus, indeed, according to Xenophon, in that
sermone quem habuit moriens, quum esset admodum senex,
speech which he delivered on his death-bed, when he was very old,
negat se unquam sensisse suam senectutem factam imbecillio-
says that he never felt his old age was rendered weaker
quam adolescentia fuisset. Ego puer memini L. Metellum,—
than his early manhood had been. I when a youth remember that L. Metellus,—
qui quum factus esset Pontifex Maximus quadriennio post alterum
who having been made Pontifex Maximus four years after his second
consulatum præfuit eo sacerdotio viginti et duos annos,—esse
consulship presided over that office for twenty two years,—was
ita bonis viribus extremo tempore ætatis ut non requireret
of such unimpaired strength at the last stage of life that he did not regret
adulescentiam. Est nihil necesse mihi dicere de me ipso;
his early manhood. There is no need for me to speak about myself;
quamquam id quidem est senile concediturque nostræ
although that indeed is the privilege of an old man, and is allowed to our
ætati.
age.

X.—(31) Videtis-ne ut apud Homerum Nestor sæpissime
Do you see how, in Homer, Nestor very often
prædicet de suis virtutibus? Enim jam vivebat tertiam
enlarges on his own merits? For he was now living during the third
ætatem hominum, nec erat ei verendum ne prædicans
generation of men, nor had he any reason to fear that when enlarging on
vera de se videretur aut nimis insolens aut loquax.
the truth about himself he should seem either too insolent or garrulous.
Etenim, ut Homerus ait, ex ejus lingua fluebat oratio dulcior
For, indeed, as Homer says, from his tongue flowed speech sweeter,

melle, ad quam suavitatem egebat nullis corporis viribus; et
than honey, for which sweetness he required no bodily strength; and
 tamen ille dux Græciæ nusquam optat ut habeat decem similes
yet that leader of Greece nowhere wishes to have ten men like
 Aiæcis, at ut Nestoris, si quod accideret non dubitat quin
Ajax, but like Nestor, and if this were to happen he does not doubt but that
 Troia sit brevi peritura. (32) Sed redeo ad me. Ago octo-
Troy would soon fall. But I return to myself. I am in my

gesimum et quartum annum: equidem vellem posse gloriari
eighty fourth year: I, indeed, could wish to be able to make the

idem quod Cyrus; sed tamen hoc queo dicere, me non esse
same boast as Cyrus; but yet this I can say, that I have not

quidem eis viribus quibus fuerim aut miles Punico bello
indeed the same strength as I had either as a soldier in the Punic war,

aut quæstor eodem bello aut Consul in Hispania aut quadriennio
or as quæstor in the same war, or as Consul in Spain, or four years

post cum militaris tribunus consule M. Acilio
afterwards when, as military tribune in the consulship of Manius Acilius

Glabrione depugnavi apud Thermopylas; sed tamen ut vos videtis
Glabrio, I fought at Thermopylæ; but yet, as you see,

senectus non plane enervavit non afflixit me: non Curia desiderat
old age has not entirely unstrung or shattered me; no Senate misses

meas vires, non rostra non amici non clientes non hospites. Enim
my powers, no platform, no friend, or dependent, or guest. For

nec unquam assensus sum illi veteri laudato-que proverbio quod
never have I agreed to that old and much praised proverb which

monet fieri senem mature si velis esse senex diu.
advises you to become an old man early if you wish to be an old man for long.

Ego vero mallem me esse senem minus diu quam esse
I, indeed, would prefer to be an old man for less time, rather than to be

senem antequam essem. Itaque nemo adhuc voluit convenire
an old man before my time. And so no one hitherto has wished to interview

me cui fuerim occupatus. (33) At habeo minus virium
me to whom I was "engaged." But (you will say) I have less strength

quam utervis vestrum. Ne quidem habetis vos vires centurionis
than either of you. Yet not even have you the strength of the officer

T. Pontii. Num est ille idcirco præstantior? Modo adsit
T. Pontius. Is he on that account a more excellent man? If only there be

moderatio virium et quisque nitatur tantum quantum potest; ne
moderate strength, and each man strives to the utmost of his power, surely

ille non tenebitur magno desiderio virium. Milo dicitur esse
he will not be possessed with a great regret for strength. Milo is said to have
 ingressus per stadium Olympiæ cum sustineret humeris vivum
traversed the course of Olympia supporting on his shoulders a live
 bovem. Utrum igitur malis has corporis vires an ingenii
bullock. Would you then prefer that this bodily strength or the intellectual
 (vires) Pythagoræ dari tibi? Denique utere isto bono
power of Pythagoras should be granted to you? In short, use that good
 dum adsit; cum absit ne requiras; nisi forte adulescentes
whilst you have it; when it is gone do not regret it; unless, perchance, young men
 debent requirere pueritiam, paullum progressi ætate
ought to regret their boyhood, and those who are a little advanced in years
 adulescentiam. Cursus ætatis est certus et via naturæ una
their early manhood. The course of age is sure and the path of nature one
 eadem-que, cuique-que parti ætatis data est sua tempestivitas, ut
and the same, and to each period of age is given its own seasonableness, so that
 et infirmitas puerorum et ferocitas juvenum et gravitas
both the weakness of children, and the high spirit of young men, and the steadiness
 jam constantis ætatis et maturitas senectutis habeat quiddam
of middle age, and the ripeness of old age, should have a certain
 naturæ quod debeat percipi suo tempore. (34) Arbitror
natural propriety which ought to be enjoyed at its proper time. I think

te audire, Scipio, quæ tuus avitus hospes, Masinissa, faciat
that you hear, Scipio, what your grandfather's friend, Masinissa, does
 hodie natus nonaginta annos: cum ingressus sit iter
to-day at the age of ninety: when he has entered upon a journey
 pedibus, non omnino ascendere in equum; cum equo non
on foot, he never mounts a horse; when on horseback he never
 descendere ex equo; nullo imbri, nullo frigore, adduci ut sit
dismounts; by no rain, by no cold, can he be induced to go
 capite operto; in eo esse summam corporis siccitatem; itaque
with his head covered; he has the greatest physical health; and so
 exsequi omnia officia et munera regis. Igitur exercitatio et
he performs all the duties and offices of a king. Therefore practice and
 temperantia potest conservare etiam in senectute aliquid pris-
moderation are able to preserve even in old age something of one's
 tini roboris.
former strength.

XI.—Sunt non vires in senectute ne quidem vires postulantur

There is no strength in old age, nor, indeed, is strength required

a senectute. Ergo nostra ætas vacat et legibus et institutis
by old age. And so our time of life has leisure for laws and customs

eis muneribus quæ non possunt sustineri sine viribus.
from those duties which cannot be supported without physical strength.

Itaque non modo cogimur quod non possumus, sed ne
And so not only are we not compelled to do what we are not able, but not

quidem quantum possumus. (35) At sunt ita multi
even as much as we are able. But (you will say) there are so many

imbecilli senes ut possint exsequi nullum munus officii aut vitæ
weak old men that they can perform no task of duty or life

omnino. At id quidem est vitium non proprium senectutis sed
at all. But that, indeed, is a defect not peculiar to old age, but

commune valetudinis. Quam imbecillus fuit filius P.
common to ill-health. How weak was the son of Publius

Africani, is qui adoptavit te! Quam tenui valetudine aut
Africanus, the one who adopted you! Of what slender health, or

potius nulla! Ni quod fuisset ita exstitisset
rather none at all! And, unless this had been the case, he would have stood forth

illud alterum lumen civitatis; enim ad paternam magnitudinem
as the second luminary of the State; for to his father's greatness

animi accesserat uberior doctrina. Quid mirum igitur in
of mind had been added riper learning. What wonder then, in the case

senibus si sunt aliquando infirmi, cum ne quidem adulescentes
of old men, if they are sometimes weak, when not even young men

possint effugere id? Resistendum est senectuti, Læli et
can escape this? We must make a stand against old age, Lælius and

Scipio, quæ ejus vitia diligentia compensanda sunt; tanquam
Scipio, and its defects must be carefully made up for; as

contra morbum sic pugnandum contra senectutem. (36) Habenda
against disease so we must fight against old age. We must take

ratio valetudinis; utendum modicis exercitationibus; adhibendum
care of our health; we must take moderate exercise; we must partake

tantum cibi et potionis ut vires reficiantur, non op-
of so much meat and drink that our strength may be recruited, not over-

primantur. Nec vero subveniendum est corpori solo, sed menti
burdened. Nor, indeed, must we aid our body alone, but our mind

atque animo multo magis; nam hæc quoque extinguuntur
and spirit far more; for these also become extinguished

senectute, nisi instilles oleum tanquam lumini. Et corpora
by old age, unless you pour oil as it were into the lamp. And our bodies,
 quidem ingravescent exercitatione; autem animi levantur exercendo
indeed, become burdened by exercise; but our spirits are raised by
 se. Nam quos Cæcilius ait "stultos senes comicos"
it. For, as to those whom Cæcilius calls "foolish old men of comedy,"
 significat hos credulos, obliviosos, dissipatos; quæ sunt vitia
he means by these the credulous, forgetful, and dissipated; which are defects
 non senectutis, sed inertis ignaræ somniculosæ senectutis. Ut
not of old age, but of dull indolent sleepy old age. As
 petulantia ut libido est magis adulescentium quam senum, tamen
wantounness and lust belong rather to young men than old men, and yet
 nec omnium adulescentium, sed non proborum; sic ista stultitia
not to all young men, but to the ne'er-do-wells; so that folly of
 senilis quæ solet appellari deliratio est non omnium, levium
old age which is wont to be called dotage belongs not to all, but to garrulous
 senum. (37) Appius et cæcus et senex regebat quattuor
old men. Appius, though both blind and old, ruled over four
 robustos filios, quinque filias, domum clienteles
sturdy sons, five daughters. an establishment and dependencies
 tantam-tantas. Enim habebat animum intentum tanquam arcum,
on the same scale. For he kept his mind strung like a bow,
 nec languescens succumbebat senectuti. Tenebat non modo
nor pined or gave way to old age. He maintained not only
 auctoritatem, sed etiam imperium in suos; servi metuebant,
his authority, but even government over his people; his slaves feared him,
 liberi verebantur, omnes habebant eorum. Mos patrius
his children revered him, all held him dear. The custom of our ancestors
 et disciplina vigeat in illa domo. (38) Enim senectus
and their training flourished in that establishment. For old age
 est honesta ita si ipsa defendit se, si retinet suum jus, si
is honourable in this case if it defends itself, if it maintains its rights, if
 est emancipata nemini, si dominatur in suos usque ad ultimum
it is enslaved to no one, if it rules over its own people till its last
 spiritum. Enim ut probo adulescentem in quo est aliquid
breath. For as I approve of a young man in whom there is something
 senile, sic (probo) senem in quo (est) aliquid
old, so I approve of an old man in whom there is something
 adulescentis; qui sequitur quod poterit esse senex corpore,
of the young man; and he who follows this may be old in body.

nunquam erit animo. Mihi est in manibus septimus liber
but never will be (old) in mind. I have in my hands the seventh book of
 Originum; colligo omnia monumenta antiquitatis; nuno
the Origines; I am collecting all the memorials of antiquity; I am now
 maxime conficio orationes causarum illustrium quasunque
especially completing the speeches delivered in those cases of mark which
 defendi; tracto jus augurium, pontificium,
I have defended; I am dealing with the rights of augurs, of pontiffs, and
 civile; etiam utor multum Græcis litteris, more-que
of citizens; I am also dealing greatly with Greek literature, and after the manner
 Pythagoreorum gratia exercendæ memoriæ commemoro quoque
of the Pythagoreans, for the sake of exercising my memory, I recall also
 vesperi quid dixerim, audierim, egerim die. Hæ
in the evening what I have said, heard, and done during the day. This
 sunt exercitationes ingenii, hæc ourrioula mentis; desudans
is practice of the intellect, this is training of the mind; sweating
 atque elaborans in his non magnopere desidero corporis
and working hard at this I do not greatly regret my physical
 vires. Adsum amicis; venio frequens in Senatum,
strength. I am present to support my friends; I come frequently into the Senate,
 ultro-que adfero res multum et diu cogitatas, tueor-
and unasked I bring forward matters of great and continued thought, and I sup-
 que eas viribus animi non corporis. Si nequirem
port them with the strength of my mind, not of my body. And, if I were unable
 exsequi quæ, tamen meus lectulus oblectaret me cogitantem
to follow out these things, yet my little couch would delight me, thinking over
 ea ipsa quæ non jam possem agere, sed acta vita
those very points which I was no longer able to carry out, but my past life
 facit ut possim. Enim viventi semper in his studiis
makes it feasible. For, when a man lives always in these pursuits
 laboribus-que non intelligitur quando senectus obrepat. Ita
and tasks, he does not feel old age creeping upon him. So
 sensim sine sensu ætas senescit, nec frangitur subito, sed
by degrees and imperceptibly life grows old, and it is not snapped of a sudden, but
 extinguitur diuturnitate.
is allowed to die out by lapse of time.

XII.—(39) Sequitur tertia vituperatio senectutis, quod dicunt
Next follows the third censure of old age, that they say

eam carere voluptatibus. O præclarum munus ætatis, si quidem
that it lacks pleasure. O splendid boon of life, if, indeed,
 aufert nobis id quod est vitiosissimum in adulescentia! Enim
it takes from us that which is most despicable in early manhood! For

accipite, optimi adulescentes, veterem orationem Archytæ Tarentini,
hear, excellent young men, the ancient speech of Archytas of Tarentum,
 in primis magni et præclari viri, quæ est tradita mihi cum essem
an especially great and excellent man, which was delivered to me when I was
 adulescens Tarenti cum Q. Maximo: "Nullam capitaliorem
a young man at Tarentum with Quintus Maximus: "There is no more fatal
 pestem," dicebat, "datam a natura hominibus, quam corporis
plague," said he, "given by nature to men, than bodily
 voluptatem, ad potiundum ejus voluptatis avidæ libidines et
pleasure, to obtain which pleasure greedy desires are
 temere et effrenate incitarentur. (40) Hinc nasci proditioes
rashly and intemperately aroused. Hence, arise betrayals of

patriæ; hinc eversiones publicarum rerum; hinc clandestina
one's country; hence, overthrow of States; hence, secret
 colloquia cum hostibus. Denique esse nullum scelus, nullum malum
interviews with the enemy. In short, there is no crime, no evil
 facinus, ad suscipiendum quod libido voluptatis non impelleret;
deed, to the undertaking of which the lust for pleasure does not incite;
 supra vero et adulteria et omne tale flagitium excitari
incest, indeed, and adultery, and all such misdeeds are brought into play
 nullis aliis illecebris nisi voluptatis. Cum-que sive natura sive
by no other enticements than those of pleasure. And since either nature or
 quis deus dedisset homini nihil præstabilius mente, esse
some god has given to man nothing more excellent than the mind, there is
 nihil tam inimicum huic divino muneri ac dono quam voluptatem.
nothing so opposed to this divine boon and gift as pleasure.

(41) Nec enim libidine dominante esse locum temperantiæ, neque
Nor, indeed, when lust holds sway is there room for temperance, nor
 posse virtutem consistere omnino in regno voluptatis. Quo
can virtue have place at all in the realm of pleasure. And in order

quod posset magis intellegi, jubebat fingere animo aliquem
that this might be better understood, he bade us imagine in our mind that anyone
 incitatum tanta maxima corporis voluptate quanta posset
were spurred on by the very greatest bodily pleasure that it were possible
 percipi; censebat fore dubium nemini
to entertain; he was of opinion, that it would be a matter of doubt to no one

quin tamdiu dum gauderet ita posset agitare
that so long as his pleasure lay in this direction, he could not think out
 nihil mente nihil ratione, consequi nihil cogitatione.
anything in his mind or by reason, or follow up anything in thought.
 Quocirca esse nihil tam detestabile tam-que pestiferum quam
Wherefore there is nothing so hateful and so deadly as
 voluptatem; si quidem ea cum esset major atque
pleasure; since, indeed, it when it is of greater power and of
 longinquior extinguat omne lumen animi." Hæc
longer duration quenches all the light of the mind." This is what
 Nearchus Tarentinus—noster hospes, qui permanserat in
Nearchus of Tarentum — our friend, who had remained steadfast in
 amicitia Romani populi—dicebat se accepisse
friendship with the Roman people—used to say that he had heard as the
 locutum Archytam cum C. Pontio, a quo Consules Sp.
conversation of Archytas with Caius Pontius, by whom the Consuls Spurius
 Postumius T. Veturius sunt superati in prælio Caudino,
Postumius and Titus Veturius were defeated in the battle at the Caudine pass,
 cum quidem interfuisset ei sermoni Plato Atheniensis,
when, indeed, there had been present at that discussion Plato of Athens.
 quem reperio venisse Tarentum consulibus L. Camillo
who, I find, had come to Tarentum in the consulship of L. Camillus and
 Appio Claudio. (42) Quorsus hæc? Ut
Appius Claudius. To what purpose is all this? It is in order that
 intellegatis si possemus non aspernari voluptatem ratione
you may understand that if we could not scorn pleasure by force of reason
 et sapientia, magnam gratiam habendam senectuti quæ effecerit
and philosophy, great thanks should be paid to old age for having brought it
 ut id quod non oporteret non liberet. Enim voluptas
about, that what was not right should not be pleasant. For pleasure
 impedit consilium, est inimica rationi, ac perstringit, ut ita dicam,
hampers judgment, it is a foe to reason, and blinds, so to speak,
 mentis oculos; habet nullum commercium cum virtute. Invitus
the mental vision; and has no fellowship with virtue. I unwillingly
 feci ut ejicerem e Senatu, septem annis postquam fuisset
brought about the expulsion from the Senate, seven years after he had been
 Consul, L. Flamininum fratrem fortissimi viri T. Flaminini,
Consul, of L. Flamininus, the brother of that most gallant hero T. Flamininus,
 sed putavi libidinem notandam. Enim ille, cum
but I thought that lust should be branded with disgrace. For he, when

esset Consul, exoratus est a scorto in convivio in Gallia, ut feriret
he was Consul, was begged by a harlot at a banquet in Gaul, to strike
 securi aliquem eorum qui essent in vinculis damnati rei capitalis.
with an axe one of those who were in bonds and condemned to death.

Hic elapsus est censore suo fratre Tito, qui fuerat proximus ante
He escaped in the censorship of his brother Titus, who was just before
 me; vero tam flagitiosa et tam perdita libido, quæ conjungeret
me; but such disgraceful and such abandoned lust, which united
 imperi dedecus cum privato probro, potuit neutiquam probari mihi
official dishonour with personal disgrace, could in no way be approved by myself
 et Flacco.
and Flaccus.

XIII.—(43)

Sæpe audiivi a majoribus natu, qui porro
I have often heard from my elders, who further
 dicebant se audisse pueros a senibus, C. Fabricium
said that they had heard it when boys from old men, that Caius Fabricius
 solitum mirari quod cum esset legatus apud regem Pyrrhum
was wont to wonder that when he was ambassador at the court of king Pyrrhus
 audisset a Thessalo Cineas esse quendam Athenis
he had heard from the Thessalian Cineas that there was a certain man at Athens
 qui profiteretur se philosophum, que eum dicere omnia quæ
who gave himself out as a philosopher, and that he said that everything which
 faceremus esse referenda ad voluptatem, M. Curium et T.
we did should be referred to pleasure, and that Manius Curius and Titus
 Coruncanium audientes hoc ex illo solitos optare ut Samnitibus
Coruncanius hearing this from him were wont to wish that the Samnites
 que Pyrrho ipsi persuaderetur id, quo possent
and Pyrrhus himself might be convinced of it, in order that they might
 facilius vinci cum ipsi dedissent se voluptatibus. M.
be more easily defeated when they had given themselves up to pleasure. Manius
 Curius vixerat cum P. Decio qui quinquennio ante eum con-
Curius had lived with Publius Decius who five years before the former's con-
 sulem devoverat se pro republica quarto consulatu. Fabricius
sulship had devoted himself for the State in his fourth consulship. Fabricius
 norat eundem, Coruncanium norat, qui cum ex sua vita tum
knew him also, Coruncanius knew him, who, both from his own life and also
 ex facto ejus P. Deci quem dico judicabant esse
from the action of that Publius Decius whom I mention, decided that there was

profecto aliquid natura pulchrum atque præclarum quod peteretur
indeed something naturally beautiful and excellent which was sought

sua sponte que quod quisque optimus spreta et contempta
for its own sake and which all the best men, scorning and despising
voluptate sequeretur. (44) Quorsum igitur tam multa de
pleasure, followed after. To what purpose then so much about

voluptate? Quia non modo est nulla vituperatio, sed etiam
pleasure? Because not only is it no censure, but even

summa laus senectutis quod nullas voluptates
the greatest panegyric on old age to say that there are no pleasures which

ea magnopere desiderat. At caret epulis, extructis-que
it greatly regrets. But (you will say) it lacks feasts, and loaded

mensis et frequentibus poculis. Ergo etiam caret vinulentia et
tables and constant drinking. Therefore, also, it lacks intoxication and

cruditate et insomniis. Sed si aliquid dandum est voluptati
indigestion and sleeplessness. But if some concession must be made to pleasure,

quoniam non facile obsistimus ejus blanditiis—enim Plato
since we cannot easily resist its allurements—for Plato

divine appellat voluptatem "escam malorum," quod videlicet
divinely calls pleasure "the bait of the wicked," because, indeed,

homines capiantur ea ut pisces hamo—quanquam senectus caret
men are caught by it as fishes by a hook—although old age lacks

immoderatis epulis, tamen potest delectari modicis conviviis. Sæpe
intemperate feasts, yet it can take pleasure in moderate banquets. I often,

puer videbam C. Duilium filium Marci qui primus
when a boy, used to see Caius Duilius the son of Marcus, who was the first to

devicerat Pœnos classe, redeuntem senem a cena;
conquer the Carthaginians by sea, returning in his old age from supper;

delectabatur crebro funali et tibicine quæ
he used to take pleasure in frequent torch-processions and flute-playing, which

sumpserat sibi privatus nullo exemplo; tantum
he had taken upon himself as a private individual without any precedent; so much

licentiæ gloria dabat. (45) Sed quid ego alios? Jam
liberty did fame give him. But why need I mention others? I will now

revertar ad me ipsum. Primum semper habui sodales. Autem
return to myself. In the first place I always had club-fellows. But

sodalitates sunt constitutæ me quæstore, Idæis sacris
clubs were started in my quæstorship, when the Idæan worship

Magnæ Matris acceptis. Igitur epulabar cum sodalibus
of the Great Mother was established. Therefore I feasted with my club-fellows

omnino modice; sed erat quidem fervor ætatis qua progrediente
very moderately; but there was a certain heat of age, and as it advances
omnia fiunt mitiora in dies. Enim neque metiebar delectationem
everything grows milder day by day. For I did not measure the delight
conviviorum ipsorum corporis voluptatibus magis quam cœtu
of the banquets themselves by bodily pleasures, rather than by the company
et sermonibus amicorum. Enim nostri majores bene nominarunt
and conversation of friends. For our ancestors happily called
accubitionem amicorum epularem "convivium," quia habebat
the reclining of friends at feasts "a living together," since it involved
conjunctionem vitæ: melius quam Græci, qui vocant hoc idem
a union of life: a better name than the Greeks, who call this same
tum "compotationem," tum "concentrationem;"
meeting sometimes "a drinking together," sometimes "an eating together;"
ut videantur probare maxime id quod est minimum in
so that they seem to approve of most that which is of least importance in
eo genere.
that matter.

XIV.—(46) Ego vero propter delectationem sermonis delector
I, indeed, on account of the pleasures of conversation take delight
quoque tempestivis conviviis, nec solum cum æqualibus, pauci
also in seasonable banquets, not only with my contemporaries, few of
qui admodum restant, sed etiam cum vestra ætate atque vobiscum;
whom still survive, but also with your time of life and with you;
habeoque magnam gratiam senectuti quæ auxit mihi aviditatem
and I give great thanks to old age which has increased my eagerness
sermonis, sustulit potionis et cibi. Quod etiam si ista
for conversation, and removed that for drink and meat. But even if those
delectant quem, ne videar indixisse omnino
very pleasures delight anyone, that I may not seem to have declared a general
bellum voluptati cujus fortasse est quidam naturalis
war against pleasure, to which, perhaps, there belongs a certain natural
motus, non intellego ne quidem in istis voluptatibus ipsis
impulse, I do not understand, even in those pleasures themselves,
senectutem carere sensu. Me vero et magisteria instituta a
that old age lacks sensation. Me, indeed, both offices established by
majoribus delectant, et is sermo qui more majores
our ancestors delight, and that conversation which, after the custom of our

rum adhibetur in poculis a summo, et pocula
ancestors, is indulged in over the wine from the end of the table, and the cups,
 sicut est in symposio Xenophontis, minuta et rorantia et
as is the case in the symposium of Xenophon, small and trickling, and
 refrigeratio æstate et vicissim aut sol aut ignis hibernus.
icing in summer-time, and in turn either sun or fire in winter.

Quæ quidem etiam soleo persequi in Sabinis;
And this, indeed, also I am accustomed to follow out at my Sabine farm;
 cotidie-que compleo convivium vicinorum quod producimus ad
and every day I make up a banquet of neighbours which we prolong till
 multam noctem maxime vario sermone quam possumus. (47) At
late at night with as varied a conversation as possible. But

est non tanta titillatio voluptatum, quasi, in seni-
(you will say) there is not as great a tickling of pleasures, as it were, in old
 bus. Credo: sed ne quidem desideratio. Autem nihil
men. I believe you: but neither is there any longing for it. Now nothing
 molestum quod non desideres. Bene Sophocles inquit, cum
causes trouble, which you do not long for. Well did Sophocles say, when

quidam quæreret ex eo jam affecto ætate ne ute-
some one asked of him when he was now well stricken in years whether he
 retur rebus venereis: "Di meliora; profugi vero istinc
indulged in the passion of love: "Heaven forbid; I have fled indeed from that
 libenter sicut a agresti et furioso domino." Enim
quarter right eagerly as from a boorish and passionate master." For

cupidis talium rerum est fortasse odiosum et molestum
to those who desire such things it is perhaps irksome and troublesome
 carere, vero satiatis et expletis est jucundius
to be without them, but to those who are glutted and satiated it is more pleasant
 carere quam frui. Quamquam is qui non desiderat
to be without than to enjoy them. Although he who does not long for them

non caret: ergo dico esse jucundius non desiderare.
is not without them: therefore I say that it is more pleasant not to long for them.

(48) Quod si bona ætas libentius fruitur istis ipsis volup-
But if the pride of youth more eagerly enjoys those very pleasures,
 tatibus, primum fruitur parvulis rebus ut diximus,
in the first place it enjoys trifles as we have said, in the

deinde eis quibus senectus, si non potitur abunde,
second place those trifles which old age, if it does not possess them in abundance,
 non omnino caret. Ut qui spectat in prima
is not altogether without. Just as he who is a spectator in the first row

cavea magis delectatur Turpione Ambivio, tamen etiam
of the stalls has the greater pleasure in "Turpio Ambivius," yet even
 qui in ultima delectatur, sic adules-
he who is a spectator in the last row has also pleasure, in like manner early man-
 centia propter intuens voluptates fortasse magis lætatur, sed
hood having a nearer view of pleasures has perhaps greater joy, yet
 senectus etiam delectatur tantum quantum sat est spectans eas
old age also feels pleasure in just sufficient quantity beholding them
 procul. (49) At quanti sunt illa, animum tan-
from afar. But how valuable are these points, that a mind having as it
 quam emeritis stipendiis libidinis, ambitionis, contentionis,
were passed through the service of passion, ambition, strife,
 inimicitiarum, cupiditatum omnino esse secum vivere-que secum
enmities, and desires altogether should be with itself and live with itself
 ut dicitur. Si vero habet aliquod pabulum tanquam studi
as the saying is. If, indeed, it has some food as it were for study
 atque doctrinæ, nihil est jucundius senectute otiosa. Videbamus
and learning, nothing is more pleasant than an old age with leisure. We saw
 C. Gallium familiarem tui patris, Scipio, mori in studio
Cuius Gallius, the friend of your father, Scipio, end his life in the pursuit
 metiendi cœli atque terræ. Quotiens lux oppressit illum
of measuring heaven and earth. How often did dawn come upon him
 ingressum describere aliquid nocte, quotiens nox
when he had begun to draw something at night, how often did night come upon
 cum cœpisset mane! Quam delectabat præ-
him when he had begun work in the morning! How was it his delight to præ-
 dicere multo ante nobis defectiones solis ac lunæ! (50) Quid
dict long before to us the eclipses of the sun and moon! What
 in levioribus sed tamen acutis studiis? Quam Nævius
with regard to lighter but yet intellectual pursuits? How greatly Nævius
 gaudebat suo Punico bello! Quam Plautus
used to delight in his poem on the Carthaginian war! How greatly did Plautus
 Truculento quam Pseudolo! Vidi etiam
delight in his "Truculentus," or in his "Pseudolus"! I have seen also
 Lævium senem qui cum docuisset fabulam consulibus Centone
Lirius as an old man, who, after exhibiting his play in the consulship of Cento
 Tuditano-que sex annis antequam ego natus sum progressit ætate
and Tuditanus six years before I was born, advanced in life
 usque ad meam adulescentiam. Quid loquar de studio
right up to my early manhood, What shall I say of the pursuits of

P. Licini Crassi et pontificii et civilis juris? Aut de
Publius Licinius Crassus in both sacerdotal and civil law? Or of the

P. Scipionis hujus, qui his paucis diebus
pursuits of Publius Scipio our friend here, who within these few days
 factus est Pontifex Maximus? Atqui vidimus omnes eos
has been made Pontifex Maximus? And yet we have seen all these

senes quos commemoravi flagrantēs his studiis.
old men whom I have mentioned inflamed with these pursuits. With regard to

M. Cethegum vero—quem Ennius recte dixit “medullam
Marcus Cethegus indeed—whom Ennius rightly called “the quintessence of
 Suadæ”—quanto studio vidimus etiam senem
persuasiveness,”—with how great zeal did we see him even in old age

exerceri in dicendo! Quæ igitur sunt voluptates epularum
practise himself in oratory! What then are the pleasures of feasts
 aut ludorum aut scortorum comparandæ cum his voluptatibus?
or games or women to be compared with these pleasures?

Atque hæc quidem doctrinæ studia. Quæ quidem prudentibus et
And these indeed are learned pursuits. For they indeed with wise and
 bene institutis crescunt pariter cum ætate, ut illud
well educated men grow hand in hand with their life, so that that expression

Solonis quod ait quodam versiculo sit honestum, ut dixi
of Solon which he utters in a certain verslet is an honourable one, as I said
 ante, se senescere multa addiscentem in dies,
before, that he grows old adding many things to his knowledge every day,

qua voluptate animi potest certe esse nulla major.
and than this pleasure of the mind there can surely be none greater.

XV.—(51) Venio nunc ad voluptates agricolæ quibus ego
I come now to the pleasures of husbandry in which I take
 incredibiliter delector, quæ nec impediuntur ulla senectute et
wondrous delight, which are not hampered by any old age, and
 videntur mihi accedere proxime ad vitam sapientis. Enim
seem to me to approach most nearly to the life of the philosopher. For
 habent rationem cum terra quæ nunquam recusat imperium
they have an account with the earth, which never refuses control
 nec unquam reddit quod accepit sine usura alias cum
and never gives back what she has received without interest, sometimes with
 minore sed plerumque majore fenore. Quamquam me quidem
less, but generally with greater return. Although, in my case, indeed,

non modo fructus sed etiam vis ac natura terræ ipsius
not only the fruits but also the power and nature of the earth itself

delectat, cum quæ excepit sparsum semen mollito et
gives pleasure, for when she has received the scattered seed in her softened and
 subacto gremio primum occæcatum collibet id; ex quo occatio
subdued bosom, she first hides and confines it; whence the harrowing
 quæ efficit hoc nominatur. Deinde tepefactum suo
which brings about this result derives its name. Then when warmed by its

vapore et compressu diffindit et elicit viriditatem
natural heat and pressure it splits it, and draws out the green blade
 herbescentem ex eo; quæ nixa fibris stirpium sensim
starting from it; and it supported by the fibres of the stems gradually

adolescit que erecta geniculato culmo includitur
grows to maturity, and held upright by its jointed stalk is enclosed in
 vaginis jam pubescens quasi; quum emersit ex quibus
sheaths, just growing up as it were; and when it has shot out of these it

fundit frugem structam spici ordine et munitur contra morsus
spreads out a crop arranged pointwise, and is protected against the beaks
 minorum avium vallo aristarum. (52) Quid commemorarem
of the smaller birds by a rampart of ears. Why should I mention

ortus, satus, incrementa vitium? Non possum satiare
the raising, planting, and the growth of vines? I cannot take my fill
 delectatione ut noscatis quietem que oblectamentum meum
of delight, that you may know the calm and the pleasure of my

senectutis. Enim omitto ipsam vim omnium quæ
old age. For I pass over the natural vigour of everything that is

generantur e terra quæ ex tantulo grano fici aut ex
produced from the earth which from so tiny a seed of fig or from the

acino vinaceo aut ex minutissimis seminibus ceterarum frugum ac
grape stone, or from the smallest seeds of all other fruits and
 stirpium procreat tantos truncos que ramos. Malleoli, plantæ,
stems, generates such large trunks and boughs. Mallet shoots, slips,

sarmenta, viviradices, propagines—nonne ea efficiunt ut delectant
cuttings, quicksets, and layers—do not these cause to delight to

quemvis cum admiratione? Vitis quidem quæ est
anyone, combined with wonder? The vine, indeed, which is by

natura caduca et nisi sit fulta fertur ad terram, ut
nature prone to fall, and, unless it is propped up, is borne to the ground, that

eadem erigat se complectitur quidquid est nacta suis claviculis
it may raise itself, embraces whatever it lights on with its tendrils

quasi manibus; quam serpentem multiplici et erratico lapsu
as with hands; and as it wanders. with manifold and wild career, the
 agricolarum ars amputans ferro coerit ne
husbandmen's art, pruning it with the knife, restrains it, so that it may not
 silvescat sarmentis et fundatur nimia in omnes partes. (53) Que
run wild in shoots and spread out too much in all directions. And
 ita ineunte vere in eis quæ sunt relicta existit ad
so, at the beginning of spring, in those parts which are left there arises at
 articulos tanquam ea quæ dicitur gemma; quæ augescens
the joints as it were what is called a bud; which, growing up under
 suco terræ et calore solis est primo peracerba
the moisture of the earth and the heat of the sun, is at first very bitter to
 gustatu, deinde maturata dulcescit que vestita pampinis
the taste, but afterwards it grows ripe and sweet, and covered with leaves
 nec caret modico calore et defendit nimios ardores solis.
does not lack moderate warmth, and keeps off the excessive heat of the sun.

Quid potest esse tum lætius fructu qua tum
And what can be at the same time more joyous in fruit than this, and also
 pulchrius adspectu? Quidem non solum ejus utilitas
more beautiful to view? And, indeed, not only its profitableness
 delectat me, ut dixi ante, sed etiam cultura et ipsa
delights me, as I said before, but also its mode of culture and its very
 natura: ordines adminiculorum, jugatio capitum, religatio
nature: the rows of props, the binding of the heads, the fastening
 et propagatio vitium; que ea amputatio sarmentorum
and layer-arrangement of the vines; and that pruning of shoots
 aliorum immissio aliorum quam dixi. Quid
in some cases and letting grow in others, of which I have spoken. Why should
 proferam irrigationes, quid fossiones que repastinationes agri
I enlarge on irrigation, or digging and redigging of the land,
 quibus terra fit multo fecundior? (54) Quid loquar
by which the earth is rendered much more fruitful? Why should I speak
 de utilitate stercoreandi? Dixi in eo libro quem
of the profitableness of manuring? I have mentioned it in that book which I
 scripsi de rusticis rebus, de qua Hesiodus ne fecit
have written on country life, on which subject Hesiod did not say
 quidem verbum cum scriberet de agricultura. At Homerus, qui ut
even a word when writing on agriculture. But Homer, who, as
 videtur mihi fuit multis sæculis ante, facit Laertem lenientem
it seems to me, lived many ages before, represents Laertes soothing the

desiderium quod capiebat e filio colentem agrum et stercorantem
regret that he felt for his son by tilling the land and manuring
 eum. Neo vero sunt rusticæ res lætæ segetibus solum et pratis
it. Nor, indeed, is country life abundant in crops alone and meadows
 et vineis, sed etiam hortis et pomariis; tum pastu
and vineyards, but also in gardens and orchards; moreover in the feeding
 pecudum, examinibus apium, varietate omnium florum. Nec
of cattle, swarming of bees, and variety of all kinds of flowers. Nor
 consitiones modo delectant, sed etiam insitiones, quibus agri-
do plantings alone give pleasure, but also graftings, than which agri-
 cultura invenit nihil sollertius.
culture has discovered nothing more skilful.

XVI.—(55) Possum persequi multa oblectamenta rusticarum
I can follow up many pleasures of country
 rerum; sed sentio ipsa ea quæ dixi fuisse longiora.
life; but I feel that even those which I have mentioned were too protracted.
 Autem ignoscetis; nam sum proventus studio rusti-
But you will pardon me; for I have been carried away by my zeal for
 carum rerum, et senectus est natura loquacior, ne
country life, and old age is naturally somewhat garrulous, that I may not
 videar vindicare eam ab omnibus vitiis. Ergo M. Curius, cum
seem to clear it of all defects. And so Manius Curius, after
 triumphasset de Samnitibus, Sabinis, de Pyrrho, consumpsit
he had triumphed over the Samnites, the Sabines, and Pyrrhus, spent
 extremum tempus ætatis in hac vita; contemplans quidem
the last period of his time in this kind of life; and looking, indeed,
 cujus villam—enim non longe abest a me—non possum
at his country house—for it is not far distant from my own—I cannot
 satis admirari vel continentiam hominis ipsius vel disciplinam
sufficiently admire either the temperance of the man himself or the discipline
 temporum. Cum Samnites attulissent magnum pondus auri
of the age. When the Samnites had brought a large sum of money
 Curio sedenti ad focum, sunt repudiati; enim dixit
to Curius as he sat at his hearth, they were rejected; for he said that it did
 non videri sibi præclarum habere aurum, sed imperare eis qui
not seem to him a fine thing to have money, but to rule over those who
 habent aurum. (56) Poterat-ne tantus animus non efficere
had it. Could so great a mind fail to make

senectutem jucundam? Sed venio ad agricolas, no
old age pleasant? But I come to husbandmen, that I may not
 recedam a me ipso. Erant tum in agris senateres, id
depart from myself. There were at that time in the fields senators, that
 est senes; si quidem nuntiatum est L. Quinctio Cincinnato
is, old men; if, indeed, word was brought to Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus
 eum esse factum dictatorem, jussu cujus dictatoris C.
that he had been made dictator, and by the order of this dictator Caius
 Servilius Ahala occupatum interemit Sp. Mælium appetentem
Servilius Ahala surprised and killed Spurius Mælius when aiming at
 regnum. Et Curius et ceteri senes arcessebantur in
kingly power. Both Curius and all the other old men were summoned into the
 Senatum a villa; ex quo qui arcessebant eos sunt
Senate from their country house; and hence those who summoned them were
 nominati viatores. Num fuit igitur senectus horum qui se
called apparitors. Was then the old age of these men who de-
 oblectabant agricultione miserabilis? Mea sententia quidem haud
lighted in agriculture wretched? In my opinion, indeed, I do not
 scio an nulla possit esse beatior, non solum officio, quod
know if any can be happier, not only in the occupation, because
 agrorum cultura est salutaris universo hominum generi, sed et
agriculture is healthy for the whole human race, but also
 delectatione quam dixi et saturitate que copia
from the delight that I have mentioned, and from the abundance and plenty
 omnium quæ pertinent ad victum hominum, etiam ad cultum
of all things that appertain to the life of men, and also to the worship
 deorum; ut quoniam quidam desiderant hæc jam
of the gods; so that since some people regret these things we may now
 redeamus in gratiam cum voluptate. Enim vinaria cella boni
return to good terms with pleasure. For the wine cellar of a good
 que assidui domini est semper reperta, olearia etiam
and industrious master is always well stocked, his oil cellar, and also
 penaria, que tota villa locuples; abundat porco, hædo, agno,
his larder, and his whole house is well to do; it abounds in swine, goats' flesh, lamb,
 gallina, lacte, caseo, melle. Jam agricolæ ipsi appellant
chicken, milk, cheese, and honey. Indeed, the husbandmen themselves call.
 hortum alteram succidiam. Aucupium etiam atque venatio, operis
the garden their second fitch. Fowling also and hunting, occupations
 supervacanei, facit hæc conditiora. (57) Præcidam brevi:
of leisure, give these employments a greater relish. I will cut it short:

nihil potest esse nec uberius usu nec ornatius specie
nothing can be either more productive in profit or more elegant in appearance

bene culto agro; ad fruendum quem senectus non solum
than a well tilled field; to the enjoyment of which old age not only

non retardat, verum etiam invitat atque allectat. Enim ubi
does not give a check, but even attracts and allures. For where

potest illa ætas aut calescere melius, vel apricatione vel
can that time of life either be warmed in better wise, be it by sun or

igni, aut refrigerari vicissim umbris ve aquis salu-
fire, or be cooled in turn by shade or water with more regard to

brius? (58) Igitur habeant sibi arma, sibi hastas,
health? Let them then keep to themselves their arms, their spears,

sibi clavam et pilam, sibi natationes atque cursus; relinquunt
their racquets and balls, their swimming and running; let them leave

nobis senibus ex multis lusibus talos et tesseras; ipsum id
to us old men out of so many games the dice and draughts; and even that

ut lubebit, quoniam senectus potest esse beata sine his.
as they like, since old age can be happy without them.

XVII.—(59) Libri Xenophontis sunt peritiles ad multas res;
The books of Xenophon are very useful for many things;

legite quos studiosè, quæso, ut facitis. Quam copiose agri-
and read them carefully, I pray you, as you do. How fully is agri-

cultura laudatur ab eo in eo libro qui est de tuenda re
culture praised by him in that book which is written on the maintenance of

familiari, qui inscribitur "Oeconomicus!" Atque ut intelligatis
property, and is entitled "The Economist!" And that you may understand

nihil videri tam regale ei quam studium agri colendi, Socrates,
that nothing seems so kinglike to him as the pursuit of agriculture, Socrates,

eum Critobulo in eo libro loquitur. Cyrum minorem
conversing with Critobulus in that book, says that Cyrus the younger,

regem Persarum, præstantem ingenio atque imperi gloria, cum
king of Persia, conspicuous for talent and imperial fame, when the

Lacedæmonius Lysander vir summæ virtutis venisset ad eum
Spartan Lysander, a man of the highest valour, had come to him

Sardis que attulisset ei dona a sociis, et in ceteris rebus
at Sardis and had brought him presents from the allies, both in all other matters

fuisse communem atque humanum erga Lysandrum, et
was polite and kindly towards Lysander, and, especially,

ostendisse ei quendam conseptum agrum diligenter consitum.
he showed him a fenced field carefully planted.

Autem cum Lysander admiraretur et proceritates arborum et
But when Lysander marvelled at both the size of the trees and
 ordines directos in quincuncem, et humum subactam atque puram,
the rows arranged in fives, and the ground cultivated and clean,
 et suavitatem odorum qui afflarentur e floribus, eum tum
and the sweetness of the fragrance that was wafted from the flowers, he then
 dixisse se mirari non solum diligentiam sed etiam sollertiam
exclaimed that he wondered at not only the care but also the skill

ejus a quo essent dimensa atque descripta; et Cyrum
of the man by whom they had been measured and marked out; and Cyrus
 respondisse ei: "Atqui ego sum dimensus omnia ista; mei
answered him: "Why, I measured out all that you see; mine
 sunt ordines, mea descriptio; multæ etiam istarum arborum sunt
are the rows, mine the plan; many, also, of yon trees were
 satæ mea manu." Tum Lysandrum intuentem ejus purpuram
planted by my hand." Then Lysander, gazing at his purple

et nitoram corporis que Persicum ornatum multo auro
and the splendour of his person and his Persian attire rich in gold
 que multis gemmis dixisse: "Recte vero ferunt te beatum,
and profuse jewels, exclaimed: "Rightly indeed do they consider thee happy,
 Cyre, quoniam fortuna est conjuncta tuæ virtuti." (60) Hao
Cyrus, since good fortune is united to thy merit." This

fortuna igitur, senibus licet frui; nec ætas impedit quominus
good fortune then old men may enjoy; nor does age hinder us from
 teneamus studia et ceterarum rerum et imprimis agri colendi
continuing the pursuit both of all other objects, and especially of agriculture,
 usque ad ultimum tempus senectutis. Accepimus quidem
even to the last stage of old age. We have heard, indeed, that

M. perduxisse ad centesimum annum cum esset jam
Marcus continued it to his hundredth year, when he was now of
 acta ætate in agris que coleret eos; inter cujus
advanced age in the fields and was tilling them; and between his
 primum et sextum consulatum quadraginta-sex anni interfuerunt.
first and sixth consulship forty-six years intervened.

Ita illi cursus honorum fuit tantus quantus spatium ætatis nostri
So his career of honour was as long as the period of life that our
 majores esse voluerunt ad initium senectutis; atque extrema
ancestors allowed to the beginning of old age; and the end of

ejus ætas fuit beatior quam media hoc —quod habebat
his life was happier than the middle in this respect — that it had
 plus auctoritatis minus laboris. Autem auctoritas est apex
more influence and less hard work. Now, influence is the crown
 senectutis. (61) Quanta fuit in L. Cæcilio Metello!
of old age. How great it was in the case of Lucius Cæcilius Metellus!

Quanta in Atilio Calatino! in quem illud elogium:
How great in the case of Atilius Calatinus! on whom there is this panegyric:
 Plurimæ gentes populi consentiunt hunc fuisse unum
Most clans of the nation agree that he was the one
 primarium virum. Carmen incisum in sepulchro est notum.
leading man. The epitaph cut on his tomb is well known.

Jure igitur gravis, omnium fama esset consentiens
Rightly then was he a man of weight, since general report was unanimous
 de cujus laudibus. Quem virum nuper vidimus P. Crassum
about his merits. What a great man we lately saw in Publius Crassus,
 Pontificem Maximum, quem postea M. Lepidum
the Pontifex Maximus, what a great man afterwards in Marcus Lepidus,
 præditum eodem sacerdotio! Quid loquar de Paulo
who was endowed with the same sacred office! Why should I speak of Paulus
 aut Africano aut ut jam ante de Maximo? in quorum etiam
or Africanus, or as just now of Maximus? men in whose very
 nutu, non in sententia solum, auctoritas residebat. Senectus
gesture, and not in their ideas alone, influence had a place. Old age,
 præsertim honorata habet auctoritatem tantam ut ea sit pluris
especially when honoured, has influence so great that it is of more value
 quam omnes voluptates adolescentiæ.
than all the pleasures of early manhood.

XVIII.—(62) Sed in omni oratione mementote me laudare
But in my whole speech remember that I am praising
 eam senectutem quæ sit constituta fundamentis adolescentiæ.
that old age which is built up on the foundations of early manhood.
 Ex quo efficitur id quod quondam dixi cum magno assensu
And hence arises that which I formerly said with the loud assent
 omnium— esse miseram senectutem quæ defenderet se oratione.
of all —that it was a wretched old age which had to defend itself by speech.
 Non cani non rugæ possunt repente arripere auctoritatem; sed
Neither grey hairs nor wrinkles can suddenly arrogate influence; but

superior ætas honeste acta capit fructus auctoritatis extremos.
a past life honourably spent reaps the fruit of influence at last.

(63) Enim hæc ipsa sunt honorabilia quæ videntur levia atque
For these very things are honourable which seem trivial and

communia—salutari, appeti, decedi, assurgi,
commonplace—to be greeted, to be courted, to be made room for, to receive obeisance,

deduci, reduci, consuli; quæ et apud nos et in aliis
to be escorted out and home, to be consulted; which both with us and in other

civitatribus, ut quæque est optime morata, ita diligentissime
states, as each is best constituted, so are most carefully

observantur. Aiunt Lacedæmonium Lysandrum, cujus
observed. They say that the Spartan Lysander, of whom

feci mentionem modo, solitum dicere Lacedæmonem esse
I made mention just now, was wont to remark that Sparta was

hor oratissimum domicilium senectutis: enim nusquam tantum
the most honourable home of old age: for nowhere is so much

tribuitur ætati, nusquam senectus honoratior. Quin etiam
respect shown to age, nowhere is old age more honoured. Moreover,

est proditum memoriæ cum ludis Athenis quidam grandis
it is handed down to memory, that when at the games at Athens an elderly

natu venisset in theatrum, locum nusquam datum ei in magno
man had come into the theatre, room was nowhere made for him in the great

consessu a suis civibus; autem cum accessisset ad Lacedæmonios,
assembly by his own countrymen; but when he came near to the Spartans,

qui cum essent legati consederunt in certo loco, illi omnes
who as being ambassadors had sat down in a special place, they all

dicuntur consurrexisse et recepisse senem sessum.
are said to have risen up in a body and to have admitted the old man to a seat.

(64) Cum multiplex plausus esset datus quibus cuncto
And when rounds of applause had been given them by the whole

consessu, quendam ex iis dixisse Athenienses scire quæ essent
assembly, one of them said that the Athenians knew what was,

recta, sed nolle facere. Multa præclara in nostro
right, but would not do it. There are many excellent points in our

collegio, sed hoc de quo agimus imprimis—quod ut quisque
college, but this of which we are treating more especially—that as each

antecedit ita tenet principatum sententiæ; majores natu
is advanced in age so he has the preference in voting; and the elder

augures anteponuntur non solum antecedentibus honore,
augurs have precedence not only of those who stand before them in office,

sed etiam eis qui sunt cum imperio. Quæ igitur sunt voluptates
but also of those who hold the higher offices. What then are the pleasures
 corporis comparandæ cum præmiis auctoritatis? Ei qui
of the body to be compared with the prizes of influence? And those who
 sunt usi his splendide videntur mihi peregrisse fabulam
have used these well seem to me to have gone through the drama
 ætatis, nec tanquam inexercitati histriones corruisse in extremo
of life, and not like unpractised actors to have broken down in the last
 actu. (65) At senes sunt morosi et anxii et iracundi
act. But (you will say) old men are sullen and worrying, and passionate
 et difficiles. Si quærimus etiam avari; sed hæc
and cross-grained. If we inquire into it, they are also greedy of gain; but these
 sunt vitia morum, non senectutis. Ac tamen morositas et ea
are defects of character, not of old age. And yet sullenness and those
 vitia quæ dixi habent aliquid excusationis, non quidem
defects that I have mentioned have some excuse, not, indeed,
 justæ, sed quæ videatur posse probari. Putant se
a just one, but such as seems capable of approval. They think that they
 contemni, despici, illudi: præterea in fragili corpore
are scorned, looked down on, and laughed at: moreover, in a frail body,
 omnis offensio est odiosa. Tamen omnia hæc fiunt
any friction is objectionable. And yet all these points become
 dulciora bonis moribus et artibus; quæ id potest intelligi cum in
toned down by good characters and qualities; and this can be understood, both in
 vita tum in scena ex eis fratribus qui sunt in Adelphis. Quanta
life and on the stage, from those brothers who are in the Adelphi. What
 duritas in altero, comitas in altero! Sic res se habet; enim
harshness in the one, and affability in the other! Thus the case stands; for
 ut non omne vinum, sic non omnis ætas coacescit vetustate. Probo
as not every wine, so not every life is soured by age. I approve
 severitatem in senectute, sed eam sicut alia modicam;
of sternness in old age, but that, as other things, in moderation;
 acerbiteratem nullo modo. Sed quid sibi velit avaritia senilis
of sourness in no wise. But what the meaning of greed in old age is
 non intelligo. Enim potest quidquam esse absurdius quam
I do not understand. For can anything be more ridiculous than
 quærere plus viatici eo quo minus viæ
to seek more journey-money in proportion as there is less of life's journey
 restat?
left?

XIX.—(66) Restat quarta causa quæ videtur maxime
There remains the fourth cause which seems most
 angere et sollicitam habere nostram ætatem — appropinquo
to vex and trouble our life— the near approach
 mortis, quæ certe non potest longe abesse a senectute. O
of death, which at any rate cannot be far removed from old age. What
 miserum senem qui non viderit in tam longa ætate mortem esse
a wretched old man not to have seen in so long a life that death is
 contemnendam! quæ est aut plane negligenda si omnino
despicable! death which is either to be altogether disregarded if it entirely
 exstinguit animum, aut etiam optanda si deducit eum aliquo
quenches the spirit, or even to be desired if it leads it to some place
 ubi sit futurus æternus. Atqui certe nihil tertium
where it is to be for ever. And, indeed, at any rate no third course
 potest inveniri. (67) Quid igitur timeam si sum futurus aut
can be discovered. Why then should I fear if I am to be either
 non miser aut etiam beatus post mortem? Quamquam quis
free from misery or even happy after death? Although who
 est tam stultus, quamvis adulescens sit, cui sit exploratum se vic-
is so foolish, however young he be, as to be certain that he will
 turum ad vesperem? Quia etiam illa ætas habet multo plures
live till the evening? Moreover, that time of life involves many more
 casus mortis quam nostra. Adulescentes incidunt in morbos
chances of death than ours. Young men fall into disease
 facilius; gravius ægrotant; curantur tristius.
more easily; they have more serious illnesses; their treatment causes greater pain.
 Itaque pauci veniunt ad senectutem. Quod ni accideret,
And so few arrive at old age. And if this were not the case,
 viveretur melius prudentius; enim est mens et ratio et
men would live better and wiser lives; for there is mental power and reason and
 consilium in senibus; si fuissent nulli qui, essent nullæ
judgment in old men; and if there had been none of these, there would be no
 civitates omnino. Sed redeo ad mortem impendentem. Quod est
states at all. But I return to death hanging over us. What is
 illud crimen senectutis cum videatis esse commune cum adu-
that charge against old age when you see that it is common to early
 lescentia? (68) Ego sensi in optimo filio, tu, Scipio,
manhood? I felt in the case of my excellent son, and you, Scipio,
 in tuis fratribus expectatis ad amplissimam dignitatem.
in the case of your brothers who had prospects of the highest honours,

mortem esse communem omni ætati. At adolescens
that death is common to every age. But (you will say), a young man
 sperat se victurum diu, senex non potest sperare
hopes that he will live for a long time, whilst an old man cannot hope
 quod idem. Insipienter sperat. Enim quid stultius quam
for this. His is a foolish hope. For what is more foolish than
 habere incerta pro certis, falsa pro veris? Senex habet
to take uncertainty for certainty, and falsehood for truth? An old man has
 ne quidem quod speret. At est eo meliore conditione
not even anything to hope for. But he is in so much the better state
 quam adolescens, quoniam hic est consecutus quod ille
than a young man, since the former has obtained what the latter
 sperat. Ille vult diu vivere; hic vixit diu.
hopes for. The one wishes for a long life; the other has lived a long life.
 (69) Quamquam, o boni di, quid est in hominis vita diu?

And yet, good heavens, what is there in man's life that is long?
 Enim da supremum tempus: expectemus Tartessiorum
For allow the longest possible time: let us anticipate the Tartessian
 regis ætatem. Enim fuit, ut video scriptum, quidam Agan-
king's life. For there was, as I see in history, a certain Agan-
 thonius Gadibus qui regnavit octoginta annos, vixit centum
thonius at Gades, who reigned for eighty years and lived a hundred
 et viginti. Sed mihi ne quidquam videtur quidem diuturnum in
and twenty. But to me nothing seems even long in
 quo est aliquid extremum: enim cum illud advenit tum illud
which there is any last point: for when that comes then that
 quod præteriit effluxit; tantum remanet quod sis
which has passed has vanished away; that only remains which you have
 consecutus. virtute et recte factis. Horæ quidem cedunt et dies
obtained by merit and good deeds. Hours indeed pass by, and days
 et menses et anni, nec præteritum tempus unquam revertitur, nec
and months and years, nor does past time ever return, nor
 potest scire quid sequatur. Quod temporis datur cuique ad
can one know what is to follow. Whatever time is given to each man for
 vivendum, eo debet esse contentus. (70) Enim histroni
living, with that he should be satisfied. For an actor
 neque est peragenda fabula; modo probetur in quocunque
need not go right through a play, if only he be applauded in whatever
 actu fuerit; nec sapienti veniendum ad "plaudite."
act he appears; nor a philosopher stay to the fall of the curtain.

Enim breve tempus ætatis est longum satis ad vivendum bene et
For a short period of life is long enough for living well and
 honeste. Sin processeris longius, est non dolendum magis
honourably. But if you advance farther, you must not grieve more
 quam agricolæ dolent, suavitate verni temporis præ-
than husbandmen do, that when the sweetness of spring time has
 terita æstatem que autumnum venisse. Enim ver significat
passed summer and autumn have come. For spring represents
 adolescentiam tanquam, que ostendit fructus futuros; re-
early manhood as it were, and gives promise of fruit in the future; the
 liqua tempora sunt accommodata demetendis et percipiendis
rest of the seasons are devoted to reaping and gathering in
 fructibus. (71) Autem fructus senectutis est, ut sæpe dixi,
the fruit. Now the fruit of old age is, as I have often said,

memoria et copia bonorum ante partorum. Vero omnia
the recollection and abundance of good things previously acquired. But all

quæ sunt secundum naturam sunt in bonis.
things which are according to nature are to be reckoned among things good.

Autem quid est tam secundum naturam quam emori?
Now what is so according to nature as for old men to die off?

quod idem accidit adolescentibus adversante repugnante
and this same fate happens to young men in spite of and in opposition to
 natura. Itaque adolescentes videntur mihi sic ut cum vis
nature. And so young men seem to me to die just as when the violence
 flammæ opprimitur magnitudine aquæ: autem senes sic ut
of fire is quenched by a large body of water: but old men just as
 consumptus ignis extinguatur sua sponte adhibita
a spent fire dies out of its own accord without the application

nulla vi. Et quasi poma avelluntur ex arboribus vi si
of any force. And as fruit is wrenched off trees by force if
 sunt cruda, si matura et cocta decidunt; sic vis aufert vitam
it is unripe, if ripe and mellow it drops off; so force takes away life
 adolescentibus, maturitas senibus; quæ quidem est tam jucunda
from young men, ripeness from old men; and this, indeed, is so pleasant
 mihi, ut quo accedam propius ad mortem videar videre terram
to me, that as I come nearer to death I seem to behold land

quasi, que esse venturus aliquando in portum ex longa
as it were, and to be about to come at last into harbour after a long
 navigatione.

voyage.

XX.—(72) Autem est nullus certus finis senectutis, que vivitur
Now, there is no fixed limit to old age, and you live
 recte in ea quoad possis exsequi et tueri munus officii
rightly in it as long as you can follow out and support the duties of your vocation,
 que contemnere mortem. Ex quo fit ut senectus sit etiam
and despise death. And hence it comes to pass that old age is even
 animosior et fortior quam adolescentia. Hoc illud est quod est
more spirited and brave than early manhood. This it is, that was
 responsum tyranno Pisistrato a Solone, cum illi quærenti
said in answer to the despot Pisistratus by Solon, when on the former asking
 qua tandem re fretus obsisteret sibi tam audaciter
on what possible security he relied that he withstood him so boldly, he
 dicitur respondisse, "Senectute." Sed finis vivendi est optimus
is reported to have replied, "On old age." But the end of life is best
 cum mente que ceteris sensibus integra eadem natura
when, with the mind and the rest of the senses unimpaired, the same nature
 quæ coagmentavit opus dissolvit ipsa suum. Ut idem
as cemented together the work breaks it up with her own hand. Just as the same
 qui construxit navem ut ædificium facillime destruit, sic eadem
man as built a ship or a house most easily destroys it, so the same
 natura quæ conglutinavit hominem optime dissolvit. Jam
nature as has joined man together best takes him to pieces. Now,
 omnis recens conglutinatio divellitur ægre, inveterata
all fresh joining is severed with difficulty, but when grown old it
 (divellitur) facile. Ita fit ut illud breve reliquum vitæ sit
is parted with ease. And so it happens, that this short remnant of life is
 neo avide appetendum senibus nec deserendum sine
neither to be eagerly sought after by old men, nor to be abandoned without good
 causa; que Pythagoras vetat decedere statione et præsidio
reason; and Pythagoras forbids us to retire from the post and station
 vitæ injussu imperatoris, id est, Dei. (73) Est
of life without the order of the Commander-in-chief, that is, of God. There is,
 quidem elogium sapientis Solonis quo negat
indeed, an epigram of the philosopher Solon, in which he says that he does not
 velle suam mortem vacare dolore et lamentis amicorum.
wish his death to be without the grief and mourning of friends.

Vult, credo, se esse carum suis; sed haud scio an
He wishes, I think, that he should be dear to his people; but I rather think that
 Ennius melius: Nemo decoret me lacrumis nec faxit
Ennius (says) better: Let no one honour me with tears, nor perform my

funera fletu. (74) Non censet mortem quam
funeral rites with weeping. He does not think that a death which
 immortalitas consequatur esse lugendam. Jam potest esse
immortality follows should be lamented. Now, there may be
 aliquis sensus moriendi, que is ad exiguum tempus, præsertim
some sensation of dying, and that for a short time, especially
 seni: post mortem quidem sensus est aut optandus aut
for an old man: after death, indeed, sensation is either desirable or
 nullus. Sed hoc debet meditari ab adolescentia—ut
non-existent. But this should be studied from our early manhood—the
 negligamus mortem— sine qua meditatione nemo potest esse
disregard of death. — for without this study no one can be
 tranquillo animo. Enim est moriendum certe; et id
of a calm mind. For we must die in any case; and it
 incertum an hoc ipso die. Qui igitur poterit timens mortem
may be on this very day. How then can a man who fears death
 impendentem omnibus horis consistere animo? (75) De
hanging over him at all hours feel settled in mind? And on
 qua non videtur esse opus ita longa disputatione, cum
this point there does not seem to be need of so long a discussion, since
 recorder non L. Brutum qui est interfectus in liberanda
I remember that neither Lucius Brutus, who was slain in freeing
 patria, non duos Decios qui incitaverunt cursum equorum
his country, nor the two Decii, who urged on the speed of their horses
 ad voluntariam mortem, non M. Atilium qui profectus est ad
to voluntary death, nor Marcus Atilius, who set out to
 supplicium ut conservaret fidem datam hostibus, non
torture that he might keep the pledge he had given to the enemy, nor
 duo Scipiones qui voluerunt obstruere iter
the two Scipios, who volunteered to barricade the passage against the
 Pœnis vel suis corporibus, non tuum avum L.
Carthaginians even with their own bodies, nor your grandfather Lucius
 Paulum qui morte luit temeritatem collegæ
Paulus who by his death atoned for the rashness of his colleague at the
 ignominia Cannensi, non M. Marcellum quem ne quidem
disgrace of Cannæ, nor Marcus Marcellus, whom not even our
 crudelissimus hostis passus est carere honore sepulturæ;
most cruel enemy suffered to be without the honour of a funeral,
 sed nostras legiones, quod scripsi in Originibus, sæpe profectas
but our legions, as I have recorded in the Origines, often set out

alaori et erecto animo in eum locum unde arbitrarentur
with an eager and resolute spirit to a spot whence they thought that
 se nunquam redituras. Igitur docti senes extimescent
they would never return. Shall then learned old men fear
 id quod adolescentes, et ei quidem non solum indocti sed etiam
that which young men, and those, indeed, not only unlearned but even-
 rustici, contemnunt? (76) Omnino, ut quidem videtur mihi, satietas
boorish, despise? Altogether, as indeed it seems to me, a surfeit
 studiorum omnium facit satietatem vitæ. Sunt certa studia
of pursuits in general causes a surfeit of life. There are definite pursuits
 pueritiæ: num igitur adolescentes desiderant ea? Sunt
belonging to boyhood: do then young men regret them? There are
 adolescentiæ ineuntis: num ea constans ætas quæ
those of early manhood at its commencement: does that settled time of life which
 dicitur media jam requirit ea? Sunt etiam
is called middle age any longer regret these? There are also those belonging
 hujus ætatis: ne quidem ea quærentur in senectute. Sunt
to this age: not even they are looked for in old age. There are
 quædam extrema studia senectutis: ergo ut studia superiorum
certain final pursuits of old age: therefore, as the pursuits of previous
 ætatum occidunt, sic etiam occidunt senectutis. Cum
stages of life pass away, so also do those of old age. And when
 quod evenit, satietas vitæ affert maturum tempus mortis.
this happens, the surfeit of life brings the timely hour of death.

XXI.—(77) Enim non video cur non audeam dicere
For I do not see why I should not dare to tell
 vobis quid ipse sentiam de morte, quod videor mihi
you what I myself feel on the subject of death; because I seem to myself
 melius cernere eo quo propius absum ab ea. Arbitror
to have a better vision of it the nearer I am to it. I think that
 vestros patres, P. Scipio que tu C. Læli, clarissimos viros
your fathers, Publius Scipio and Caius Lælius, most illustrious men
 et amicissimos mihi, vivere, et eam vitam quidem quæ sola
and most friendly to me, are still living, and that life, indeed, which alone
 est nominanda vita. Nam dum sumus inclusi in his com-
is worthy of the name of life. For whilst we are shut up in this prison-
 pagibus corporis, perfungimur quodam munere necessitatis et
house of the body, we perform a certain duty of necessity and

gravi opere. Enim cælestis animus est depressus ex altissimo
laborious work. For the heavenly spirit is weighed down from its high
 domicilio, quasi demissus in terram—locum contrarium
home, and as it were sunken into the earth—a spot opposed to its
 divinæ naturæ quæ æternitati. Sed credo immortales deos
heavenly nature and immortality. But I believe that the immortal gods
 sparsisse animos in corpora humana ut essent qui tue-
diffused spirits into the bodies of men that there might be people to look
 rentur terras quæ contemplantes ordinem cælestium qui imita-
after the world, and beholding the order of heaven to copy
 rentur eum modo quæ constantia vitæ. Nec ratio ac
it in their manner and consistency of life. Nor has reason and
 disputatio solum impulit me ut ita crederem, sed etiam nobili-
argument alone induced me to think thus, but also the noble
 tas et auctoritas summorum philosophorum. (78) Audi-
character and authority of the highest philosophers. I have heard
 Pythagoram quæ Pythagoreos, pene nostros incolas, qui essent
that Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans, almost our countrymen, who were
 quondam nominati Italici philosophi, nunquam dubitasse quin
formerly called Italian philosophers, never doubted that
 haberemus animos derivatos ex universa divina mente. Demon-
we had spirits derived from the universal divine intelligence. There
 strabantur mihi præterea quæ Socrates disseruerat supremo die
was pointed out to me besides what Socrates had argued on the last day
 vitæ de immortalitate animorum—is qui esset judicatus
of his life concerning the immortality of the spirits—he who had been adjudged
 sapientissimus omnium oraculo Apollinis. Quid multa?
the wisest of all men by the oracle of Apollo. Why make a long story?
 Persuasi mihi sic, sic sentio, cum sit tanta
I have persuaded myself of this, and this is my feeling, that since there is so great
 celeritas animorum, tanta memoria præteritorum quæ prudentia
activity of spirits, so great memory of the past and foresight
 futurorum, tot artes, tantæ scientiæ, tot inventa,
of the future, so many arts, such great sciences, and so many discoveries,
 naturam quæ contineat eas non posse esse mortalem: quæ cum
the nature which comprises all these cannot be mortal: and since
 animus semper agitur habet nec principium motus, quia
the spirit is always on the move and yet has no beginning of motion, because
 ipsa moveat se, ne quidem esse habiturum finem motus,
it moves itself, it moves itself, it does not either have any end of motion;

quia ipse nunquam sit relicturus se; et cum natura animi
because it will never desert itself; and since the nature of the spirit
 esset simplex, haberet neque quidquam admixtum in se dispar
is single, and has not any ingredient in it unlike
 atque dissimile sui, eum non posse dividi; si quod non possit,
and dissimilar to itself, it cannot be divided; and if this is impossible,
 non posse interire: que magno argumento homines scire pleraque
it cannot perish: and a great proof that people know most things
 antequam sint nati esse jam pueri cum
before they are born is the fact that already in their boyhood, when they are
 discant difficiles artes arripiant res innumerabiles tam celeriter, ut
learning difficult subjects, they grasp things innumerable so quickly, that
 non videantur accipere eas tum primum, sed reminisci
they do not seem to hear them then for the first time, but to remember
 et recordari. Hæc fere Platonis.
and recollect them. This is the gist of Plato's argument.

XXII.—(79) Autem apud Xenophontem Cyrus major
But in Xenophon Cyrus the elder on
 moriens dicit hæc: Nolite arbitrari, o mihi carissimi filii,
his death-bed speaks as follows: Do not, think, my dearest sons,
 quum discessero a vobis me fore nusquam aut nullum.
that when I shall have departed from you I shall be nowhere or nothing.
 Enim nec dum eram vobiscum videbatis meum animum, sed
For not, indeed, whilst I was with you, did you see my spirit, but
 intelligebatis eum esse in hoc corpore ex iis rebus quas
you understood that it existed in this body from those things that
 gerebam. Creditote eundem esse, etiam si videbitis
I did. You must believe then that it still exists, even though you see
 nullum. (80) Nec vero honores clarorum virorum
me not. Nor, indeed, would the honours of illustrious men
 permanerent post mortem, si eorum ipsorum animi efficerent nihil
remain after death, if their own spirits did nothing
 quo teneremus sui memoriam diutius. Mihi quidem
by which we might keep up their memory longer. I, indeed,
 potuit nunquam persuaderi animos vivere dum essent in
could never be convinced that spirits live whilst they are in
 mortalibus corporibus, emori cum exissent ex iis; nec vero
mortal bodies, and die off when they come out of them; nor, indeed,

animum esse insipientem tum cum evasisset ex insipienti
that the spirit is foolish at the time when it has got clear of the foolish
 corpore; sed cum liberatus omni admixtione corporis cœpisset
body; but when, freed from all connection with the body, it begins
 esse purus et integer tum esse sapientem. Atque etiam cum
to be pure and sound, then it is wise And, indeed, when
 hominis natura dissolvitur morte, ceterarum rerum est
a man's nature is broken up by death, with regard to all other elements it is
 perspicuum quo quæque discedit; enim omnia abeunt illuc unde
clear whither each departs; for they all go away to the place whence
 sunt orta; autem animus solus nec cum adest nec cum
they sprang; but the spirit alone, neither when it is present nor when
 discedit apparet. Jam vero videtis esse nihil tam simile
it departs, shows itself. Again, you see that there is nothing so like
 morti quam somnum. (81) Atqui animi dormientium
death as sleep. And yet the spirits of people when asleep
 maxime declarant suam divinitatem; enim cum sunt remissi ac
most clearly show their heavenly nature; for when they are released and
 liberi prospiciunt multa futura. Ex quo intelligitur
set free, they foresee many future events. Hence it is understood
 quales futuri sint cum relaxaverint se plane
what their character will be when they shall have released themselves entirely
 vinculis corporis. Quare, si hæc sunt ita, colitote
from the chains of the body. Wherefore, if these things are so, you must reverence
 me sicut deum. Sin animus est interiturus una cum corpore,
me as a god. But if the spirit is going to perish together with the body,
 vos tamen verentes deos qui tuentur et regunt omnem hanc
you, however, respecting the gods who protect and govern all this
 pulchritudinem servabitis nostri memoriam pie que
beautiful world, will preserve our memory with affection and
 inviolate.
honour.

XXXIII.—(82) Cyrus quidem hæc moriens. Nos, si
Cyrus, indeed, (said) this on his death-bed. Let us, if
 placet, videmus nostra. Nemo unquam persuadebit mihi,
you please, look to our own case. No one will ever persuade me,
 Scipio, aut tuum patrem Paulum, aut duos avos
Scipio, that either your father Paulus, or your two grandfathers,

Paulum et Africanum, aut patrem Africani, aut patruum, aut
Paulus and Africanus, or the father of Africanus, or his uncle, or
 multos præstantes viros, quos est non necesse enumerare, esse co-
many excellent men, whom there is no necessity to mention, attempted
 natos tanta quæ pertinerent ad posteritatem nisi cernerent
such great deeds which had to do with posterity, unless they saw

animo posteritatem pertinere ad se. An censes—ut glori-
in their mind that posterity had to do with them. Do you think—to boast

aliquid de me ipso more senum — me fuisse
a little about myself after the manner of old men — that I should have
 suscepturum tantos labores diurnos que nocturnos, si essem
undertaken such great tasks by day and night, if I were going
 terminaturus meam gloriam eisdem finibus quibus vitam?
to confine my fame within the same limits as my life?

Nonne fuisset multo melius traducere ætatem otiosam et
Would it not have been far better to spend a time of ease and
 quietam sine ullo labore et contentione? Sed nescio quomodo
repose without any toil and strife? But somehow or other

animus erigens se semper prospiciebat posteritatem ita
the spirit raising itself on high always looked forward to posterity in such
 quasi cum excessisset e vita esset tum denique victurus.
a way as if when it had departed from life it were then at length about to live.

Quidem quod ni ita se haberet ut animi essent immortales,
And, indeed, if it were not the case that spirits were immortal,

animus cujusque optimi haud niteretur maxime ad im-
the spirit of all the best would not strive so eagerly for im-
 mortalitatem. (83) Quidquod, quisque sapientissimus moritur
mortality. Again, all the wisest men die with

æquissimo animo, stultissimus iniquissimo. Nonne
the greatest resignation, the most foolish with the greatest reluctance. Does not

is animus qui cernat plus et longius videtur videre se
that spirit which sees more fully and farther seem to perceive that it
 proficisci ad meliora, autem ille cujus acies sit obtusior
is setting out to something better, whilst the one whose vision is somewhat blunted

non videre? Equidem efferor studio videndi vestros
does not see it? I, indeed, am carried away by the desire of seeing your

patres quos colui et dilexi; neque vero aveo convenire
fathers, whom I have respected and loved; nor indeed do I desire to meet

solum eos quos cognovi ipse, sed illos etiam de quibus
only those whom I have known personally, but those also of whom

audiui et legi et conscripsi ipse. Quidem proficiscen-
I have heard and read and written myself. And, indeed, when I was setting
 tem quo haud quis facile retraxerit me neque
out in that direction, no one would easily draw me back, or
 recoxerit tanquam Peliam. Quod si quis deus largiatur
boil me up again like Pelias. But if any god were to grant
 mihi ut repuerascam ex hac ætate et vagiam in
me to become a boy again from my present time of life and to cry in the
 cunis valde recusem; vero nec velim decurso
cradle, I should sternly refuse; for, indeed, I should not like, after running
 spatio quasi, revocari a calce ad carceres.
through my course as it were, to be called back from the goal to the starting post.

(84) Enim quid commodi habet vita? potius quid laboris
For what advantage has life? or, rather, what toil has it
 non? Sed sane habeat: certe tamen habet aut satietatem
not? But grant that it has: at all events, however, it has either surfeit
 aut modum. Enim mihi non lubet deplorare vitam, quod multi
or limit. For I do not wish to lament life, as many
 et ei docti sæpe fecerunt: neque me poenitet
men, and those, indeed, learned men, have often done: nor do I regret
 me vixisse, quoniam vixi ita ut existimem me
that I have lived, since I have lived in such a way that I think I
 non natum frustra; et discedo ex vita ita tanquam ex
was not born to no purpose; and I depart from life just as from
 hospitio, non tanquam ex domo. Enim natura dedit nobis
a lodging, not as from a real home. For nature has given us
 deversorium commorandi, non habitandi. (85) O præclarum diem
an inn to stay at, not to live in. O glorious day

cum proficiscar ad illud divinum concilium que cœtum animorum,
when I shall set out to that celestial chamber and council of spirits,
 que cum discedam ex hac turba et colluvione! Enim
and when I shall depart from this present confusion and defilement! For
 proficiscar non solum ad eos viros de quibus dixi ante,
I shall set out, not only to those great men of whom I have spoken before,
 verum etiam ad meum Catonem quo nemo melior vir est
but also to my son Cato, than whom no better man was ever
 natus, nemo præstantior pietate, ejus corpus est crematum
born, none more eminent for filial love, whose body was burnt on the pyre
 a me, quod contra meum decuit ab illo;
by me, whereas, on the other hand, mine should have been so treated by him;

vero animus non deserens me sed respectans discessit profecto
but his spirit, not leaving me but looking back on me, departed indeed
 in ea loca quo cernebat mihi ipsi veniendum. Quem
to those spots whither he saw that I myself must come. And this
 meum casum visus sum ferre fortiter, non quo ferrem æquo
my loss I seemed to bear with fortitude, not because I bore it with
 animo, sed ipse consolabar me existimans digressum et
resignation, but I solaced myself by thinking that the separation and
 discessum inter nos non fore longinquum. (86) His rebus,
parting between us would not be for long. On this account,
 Scipio, senectus est levis mihi—enim dixisti te solere
Scipio, old age is light to me—for you said that you were wont to
 admirari id cum Lælio—nec solum non molesta sed etiam jucunda.
wonder at this with Lælius—and not only not troublesome, but even pleasant.
 Quod si erro in hoc, quod credam hominum animos esse
But if I am wrong in this, that I believe men's spirits to be
 immortales, libenter erro; nec volo hunc errorem
immortal, I am willing to be wrong; and I do not wish this mistake
 quo delector extorqueri dum vivo. Sin
in which I rejoice to be wrenched away from me as long as I live. But if
 nihil sentiam mortuus, ut quidam minuti philosophi censent,
I am to have no sensation after death, as some puny philosophers think,
 non vereor ne philosophi mortui irrideant hunc errorem
I am not afraid that these philosophers when dead will scoff at this mistake
 meum. Quod si sumus non futuri immortales, tamen est optabile
of mine. But if we are not going to be immortal, yet it is desirable
 homini extingui suo tempore. Nam ut omnium
for a man to have his light quenched at the proper time. For, as in all
 aliarum rerum sic vivendi natura habet modum. Autem senectus
other matters, so in life nature has a limit. But old age
 est peractio ætatis tanquam fabulæ, debemus fugere cujus
is the last act in life as in a play, and we should avoid its
 defatigationem, præsertim satietate adjuncta. Hæc
weariness, especially when surfeit is added to it. This is what
 habui quæ dicerem de senectute; utinam perveniatis ad
I had to say about old age; and I wish that you may arrive at
 quam ut possitis probare re experti
that time of life, that you may be able to prove by actual experience the truth
 ea quæ audistis ex me.
of what you have heard from me.

CICERO DE AMICITIA.



CHAPTER I.

QUINTUS MUCIUS Augur, solebat narrare multa de
(1.) Quintus Mucius, the Augur, was wont to tell many stories of
suo socero, C. Lælio, memoriter, et jucunde;
his father-in-law, Caius Lælius, with good memory, and in a pleasant way;
neque dubitare in omni sermone appellare
and he did not hesitate in the whole of his discourse to call him
sapientem. Autem ego, sumpta toga virili, eram deductus
a philosopher. But I, on assuming the garb of manhood, was introduced
a patre ad Scævolum ita ut, quoad possem et
by my father to Scævolum in such a way that, as far as I could and was
liceret, numquam discederem a senis latere. Itaque
allowed, I never went away from the old man's side. And so I
mandabam memoriæ multa prudenter disputata ab eo, etiam
committed to memory many wise discussions of his, and also
multa breviter et commode dicta; studebamque fieri
many pithy and neat sayings; and I was anxious to grow more
doctior ejus prudentia. Quo mortuo contuli me ad
learned through his wisdom. And on his death I betook myself to
pontificem Scævolum, quem audeo dicere unum præstantissimum
the pontifex Scævola, whom I venture to call the one most prominent man
nostræ civitatis et ingenio et justitia. Se de hoc alias;
of our State both in talent and in justice. But of this at another time;
nunc redeo ad Augurem.
now I return to the Augur.

Quum multa sæpe, tum, memini,
(2.) Both on many other occasions, and especially at that time, I remember
sedentem domi in hemicyclo, ut solebat quum et ego essem
that, sitting at home in his arm-chair, as he was accustomed when both I was

una, et pauci admodum familiares, illum incidere in eum
with him, and a few very intimate friends, he fell upon that
 sermonem qui erat tum in fere omnibus ore. Enim meministi,
topic which was then on almost everybody's lips. For you remember, I

profecto, Attice, et eo magis quod multum utebare
suppose, Atticus, and the more so because you were very intimate with

P. Sulpicio, quum is, tribunus plebis, dissideret capitali
Publius Sulpicius, when he, as tribune of the people, was at variance in deadly

odio a Q. Pompeio, qui tum erat consul, quocum
hatred with Quintus Pompeius, who at that time was consul, with whom he

vixerat conjunctissime et amantissime, quanta esset vel
had lived on very intimate and friendly terms, how great was either

admiratio vel querela hominum. Itaque tum Scævola,
the wonder or complaint of the people. (3.) And so at that time Scævola,

quum incidisset in eam ipsam mentionem, exposuit nobis ser-
monem he had lighted on that very subject, set forth to us the dis-

monem Lælii de Amicitia habitum ab illo secum et cum
course of Lælius on Friendship held by the latter with him and with

altero genero, C. Fannio, filio Marci, paucis diebus post
his other son-in-law, Cuius Fannius, son of Marcus, a few days after

mortem Africani. Sententias ejus disputationis mandavi
the death of Africinus. The heads of that discussion I committed

memoriæ; quas exposui hoc libro meo arbitrato; enim
to memory; and these I have set forth in this book of my own free will; for I

induxi quasi loquentes ipsos, inquam et
introduced them as it were speaking in person, that the words 'I say' and

inquit ne interponeretur sæpius, atque ut sermo vide-
'he says' might not come in too often, and that the discourse might

retur haberi tamquam a præsentibus coram. Enim quum
seem to be held as it were by people actually present in person. For as you

sæpe ageres mecum ut scriberem aliquid de
often negotiated with me that I might write something on the subject of

Amicitia, res visa est mihi digna quum cognitione omnium
Friendship, the subject seemed to me worthy both of the knowledge of all

tum nostra familiaritate. Itaque feci non invitatus ut pro-
and of our intimacy. And so I did it not unwillingly that I might

dessem multis tuo rogatu. Sed ut, in Catone Majore
benefit many at your request. (4.) But as, in the case of the Cato Major

qui est scriptus ad te de Senectute, induxi senem
which was written to you on the subject of Old Age, I introduced the old man

Catonem disputantem quia nulla persona videbatur aptior quæ
Cato in discussion because no character seemed more suitable to
 loqueretur de illa ætate quam ejus qui et diutissime
speak about that period of life than his who both for the longest time
 fuisset senex, et flourisset præ ceteris in senectute ipsa;
had been an old man, and had flourished above all others in old age itself;

sic quum accepissemus a patribus familiaritatem
so since I heard from my ancestors that the intimacy between

C. Lælii et P. Scipionis fuisse maxime memorabilem,
Caius Lælius and Publius Scipio was very noteworthy, the
 persona Lælii visa est mihi idonea quæ dissereret ea ipsa
character of Lælius seemed to me well adapted to discuss those very points
 de Amicitia quæ Scævola meminisset disputata
on the subject of Friendship which Scævola remembered to have been discussed

ab eo. Autem hoc genus sermonum positum in auctoritate
by him. But this kind of discourse depending on the authority
 hominum veterum, et eorum illustrium, videtur nesio quomodo
of men of old, and those, too, men of fame, seems somehow or other

habere plus gravitatis. Itaque legens, ipse mea inter-
to have more weight. And so when I read my own writings I some-

dum afficior sic ut existimem Catonem loqui,
times am affected in such a way as to think that it is Cato speaking, and
 non me. Sed ut tum scripsi senex ad senem de
not myself. (5.) But just as then I wrote as an old man to an old man on the

Senectute, sic hoc libro scripsi de Amicitia
subject of Old Age, so in this book I have written on the subject of Friendship

amicissimus ad amicum. Tum Cato est locutus,
as a most intimate friend to a friend. On that occasion Cato spoke, than

quo fere nemo illis temporibus erat senior, nemo prudentior;
whom scarcely anyone in those days was older, none wiser; and

nunc Lælius et sapiens—enim sic est habitus—et ex-
now it is Lælius who is both a philosopher—for so he is considered—and pre-

cellens gloria amicitiae, loquitur de Amicitia. Velim
eminent in renown for friendship, speaks on the subject of Friendship. I could

tu avertas animum a me parumper, putes
wish that you would turn away your attention from me for awhile, and think

Lælium loqui ipsum. C. Fannius et Q. Mucius
that Lælius is speaking in person. Caius Fannius and Quintus Mucius

veniunt ad socerum post mortem Africani. Ab
come to the house of their father-in-law after the death of Africanus. With

his sermo oritur. Lælius respondet; tota cujus
these the conversation takes its rise. Lælius replies; and the whole of his
 disputatio est de Amicitia, legens quam tu cognosces
discussion is on Friendship, and when you read it you will recognise
 te ipsum.
yourself.

CHAPTER II.

ISTA sunt, Læli; enim nec fuit quisquam
 (6.) *F. Your arguments are true, Lælius; for never has there been any*
 melior nec clarior vir Africano. Sed debes existimare
better or more illustrious man than Africanus. But you ought to consider
 oculos omnium esse nunc coniectos in te; te unum
that the eyes of all are now fixed upon you; you above all others
 et appellant et existimant sapientem. Hoc modo
they both call and deem a philosopher. This title was lately
 tribuebatur M. Catoni, scimus apud nostros patres
given to Marcus Cato, and we know that in the time of our fathers
 L. Atilius esse appellatum sapientem. Sed uterque quodam
Lucius Atilius was called a philosopher. But each in a certain
 alio modo—Atilius quia putabatur esse prudens in civili jure,
different way — Atilius because he was thought to be learned in civil law,
 Cato quia habebat usum multarum rerum. Multa
Cato because he had experience of many circumstances. Many of
 ejus vel prudenter provisæ vel constanter actæ vel acute responsæ
his either wise forecastings or consistent deeds or sharp answers
 et in senatu et in foro ferebantur; propterea habebat,
both in the Senate and in the forum were reported; wherefore he had, as it
 quasi, cognomen sapientis jam in senectute. Autem te alio
were, the title of philosopher now in his old age. But you in a different
 quodam modo non solum natura et moribus, verum etiam studio
kind of way not only by nature and manners, but also in zeal
 et doctrina, esse sapientem—nec sicut vulgus, sed
and learning, are a philosopher—and not as the general run of men, but
 ut eruditi solent appellare sapientem, qualem,
as educated men are wont to call one a philosopher, such as there is

neminem tota Græcia. Nam qui appellantur Septem
none other in Greece. (7.) For those who are called the Seven Sages
 qui quærunst ista subtilius non habent in
people who look into these matters more carefully do not reckon among the
 numero sapientium: unum accepimus Athenis
number of philosophers: one man we have heard of at Athens to have been
 judicatum sapientissimum, et eum, quidem, oraculo
adjudged the greatest philosopher in the world, and that, too, by the oracle
 Apollinis. In te existimant esse sapientiam hanc ut
of Apollo. In you they think there is philosophy of such a kind that you
 ducas omnia tua posita in te, casusque humanos
deem all your actions to depend on yourself, and all the chances of life
 inferiores virtute. Itaque quærunst ex me—credo
to be in a lower scale than virtue. And so they ask of me—and I believe
 ex te item, Scævola—quonam pacto feras mortem Africani;
of you also, Scævola—in what manner you bear the death of Africanus;
 eoque magis quod his proximis Nonis, quum venissemus in
and the more so because on these most recent Nones, when we had come into
 hortos D. Bruti auguris, causa commentandi ut
the gardens of Decius Brutus the augur, for the purpose of deliberating as
 assolet, tu non affuisti, qui esses solitus semper obire
usual, you were not present, though you had been accustomed ever to observe
 illum diem et illud munus diligentissime.
that day and that duty with the greatest care.

Multi, quidem, quærunst, C. Læli, ut est dictum a Fannio;
 (8.) Sc. Many, indeed, do ask, Caius Lælius, as has been said by Fannius;
 sed ego respondeo—id quod animadverti—te ferre moderate
but I make answer—a point which I have noticed—that you bear temperately
 dolorem quem acceperis morte viri quum
the grief which you have experienced by the death of a man both of the
 summi, tum amicissimi; potuisse nec
greatest excellence, and also your most intimate friend; and that you could not
 non commoveri, nec fuisse id tuæ humani-
fail to be affected, nor was such a thing in accordance with your kindly
 tatis; autem quod non affuisses his Nonis in
nature; but as to your not having been present on these last Nones in
 nostro collegio, respondeo valitudinem fuisse causam, non mœsti-
our assembly, I reply that, ill-health was the cause, and not sorrow.
 tiam. Tu recte quidem, et vere, Scævola; enim nec
 L. And you said so rightly indeed, and truly, Scævola; for neither

debui abduci ab isto officio quod semper usurpavi
ought I to have been diverted from that duty which I always undertook
 quum valerem meo incommodo; nec arbitror hoc posse ullo
when I was well by my indisposition; nor do I think that this can by any
 casu contingere constanti homini—ut fiat ulla intermissio
chance occur to a consistent man—that there should be any omission
 officii. Autem tu, Fanni, qui dicis tantum tribui mihi
of duty. (9.) But you, Fannius, who say that so much honour is given me
 quantum ego nec agnosco nec postulo, facis amice; sed, ut
as I neither recognise nor demand, act in a friendly way; but, as
 videris mihi, non recte judicas de Catone. Enim aut
you seem to me, you do not form a right judgment on Cato. For either
 nemo, quod, quidem, magis credo, fuit sapiens, aut, si
no one, as, indeed, I rather think, has ever been a real philosopher, or, if
 quisquam, ille fuit. Enim, ut omittam alia, quomodo
anyone was, surely he was. For, to pass over everything else, how he
 tulit filii mortem! Memineram Paullum; videram Gallum; sed
bore his son's death! I remember Paullus; I had seen Gallus; but
 hi in pueris, Cato in perfecto et spectato viro. Quamo-
these in their boyhood, Cato in full and tried manhood. (10.) Where-
 brem cave, ne anteponas Catoni, quidem istum ipsum quem
fore, beware you do not prefer to Cato, even that very man whom
 Apollo, ut ais, judicavit sapientissimum. Enim hujus
Apollo, as you say, adjudged the greatest philosopher. For in the one case
 facta, illius dicta, laudantur. Autem de me, ut
deeds, in the other case words, are approved. But as regards myself, that I
 jam loquar cum utroque, habetote sic.
may now speak with both of you, you must hold this opinion.

CHAPTER III.

Si ego negem me moveri desiderio Scipionis, sapientes
If I were to deny that I am affected by regret for Scipio, philosophers
 viderint quam faciam id recte; sed certe mentiar.
will see to it how far I should do so rightly; but surely I should speak
 Enim moveor, orbatus tali amico qualis nemo
falsely. For I am affected, bereaved as I am of such a friend as no one else
 umquam erit ut arbitror; et, ut possum confirmare, nemo
will ever be in my judgment; and, as I can confidently assert, no one at

certe fuit. Sed non egeo medicina; consolor
any rate ever has been. But I do not require an antidote; for I comfort
 ipse me, et maxime eo solatio, quod careo eo errore
myself, and especially with this solace, that I am free from that mistake by
 quo plerique solent angi decessu amicorum. Enim
which most people are wont to be harassed on the departure of friends. For I
 puto nihil mali accidisse Scipio; si quid accidit,
consider that no evil has happened to Scipio; if any has happened, it has
 accidit mihi; autem, graviter angi suis incommodis est
happened to me; now, to be seriously grieved at one's misfortunes is
 amanti non amicum, sed seipsum.
the token of a man who loves not his friend, but himself.

Vero cum illo quis neget esse actum præclare?
 (11.) *But with him who would deny that things have gone excellently well?*
 Enim nisi—quod ille minime putabat—vellet optare
For unless—which he least of all was inclined to think—he chose to desire
 immortalitatem, quid est non adeptus quod esset fas homini
immortality, what has he not obtained which it were lawful for a man
 optare? Qui continuo adolescens, virtute incredibili,
to wish for? For he at once in early manhood, by merit that surpasses belief,
 superavit summam spem civium quam habuerant de eo
transcended the highest expectation of the citizens which they entertained of him
 iam puero; qui numquam petivit consulatum,
when still a boy; and, again, he never competed for the consulship, and
 est bis factus consul—primum ante tempus, iterum
yet was twice elected consul—first before the proper time, and again at a
 tempore suo sibi, pæne sero reipublicæ; qui,
period suited to himself, but almost too late for the State; and, again, by
 eversis duabus urbibus inimicissimis huic imperio, delevit
overthrowing two cities most hostile to this empire, he put an end
 bella non modo præsentia, verum etiam futura. Quid di-
to wars not only for the present, but also for the future. Why should I
 cam de facillimis moribus? De pietate in matrem?
speak of his most courteous manners? Of his affection to his mother? Of his
 Liberalitate in sorores? Bonitate in suos?
generosity towards his sisters? Of his goodness towards his own people?
 Justitia in omnes? Sunt nota vobis. Autem quam carus
Of justice towards all? All this is well known to you. But how dear
 fuerit civitati est indicatum mœrore funeris. Quid
he was to the State has been shown by the grief at his funeral. How,

igitur, potuisset accessio paucorum annorum juvare hunc? Enim
then, could the addition of a few years have helped him? For
 senectus, quamvis sit non gravis, ut memini Catonem anno
old age, though it is not burdensome, as I remember Cato the year
 ante quam mortuus est disserere mecum et cum Scipione, tamen
before his death argued with myself and with Scipio, yet
 aufert eam viriditatem in qua Scipio etiam nunc erat.
it takes away that haleness in which Scipio even then found himself.

Quamobrem vita quidem fuit talis vel fortuna vel
 (12.) *Wherefore his life indeed was such either through good fortune or*
 gloria ut nihil posset accedere; autem, celeritas
fame that nothing could be added to it; moreover, the speedy nature of
 moriendi abstulit sensum. De quo genere mortis est difficile
his death took away all feeling. And of this kind of death it is difficult
 dictu; videtis quid homines suspicentur. Hoc, tamen,

to speak; but you see what people surmise about it. This, however, we

licet vere dicere, P. Scipioni, ex multis diebus quos vi-
may truly say, that to Publius Scipio, of the many days which he
 derit in vita celeberrimos lætissimosque, illum diem fuisse claris-
saw in life so full of fame and joy, that day was the most
 simum quum, senatu dimisso, est reductus domum ad
renowned when, after the Senate had broken up, he was led back home at
 vesperum a Patribus conscriptis, a sociis Romani populi et
evening by the Members of the Senate, by the allies of the Roman people and

Latinis pridie quam excessit e vita; ut ex tam alto
the Latins the day before he departed from this life; so that from so high a
 gradu dignitatis videatur pervenisse ad deos superos potius
degree of honour he seems to have gone to the gods above rather
 quam ad inferos.
than to the gods below.

CHAPTER IV.

ENIM neque assentior his qui nuper cœperunt
 (13.) *For I do not agree, with those who have lately begun*
 disserere hæc animos interire simul cum corporibus,
to discuss these questions, that spirits die together with the bodies,
 atque omnia deleri morte. Auctoritas antiquorum
and that all things are destroyed by death. The authority of the ancients

plus valet apud me ; vel nostrorum majorum qui tribuerunt
has more weight with me ; either that of our ancestors who assigned to the
 mortuis tam religiosa jura — quod profecto non fecissent
dead such sacred privileges—which they certainly would not have done
 si arbitrarentur nihil pertinere ad eos—vel eorum qui fuerunt
if they thought that nothing belonged to them— or of those who lived
 in hac terra erudieruntque Magnam Græciam, quæ nunc quidem
in this land and educated Magna Græcia, which now indeed
 est deleta, tum florebat, suis institutis et præceptis ;
is destroyed, but at that time was flourishing, by their customs and regulations ;
 vel ejus qui est judicatus sapientissimus oraculo
or of that man who was adjudged the greatest philosopher of all by the oracle
 Apollinis, qui non tum dicebat hoc tum illud ut plerique
of Apollo, who did not at one time say this and at another that as most people
 sed semper idem — hominum animos esse divinos,
do, but always the same thing—that human spirits are divine, and that
 quumque excessissent e corpore reditum in cælum patere
when they have departed from the body a return to heaven is open to
 iis cuique optimo et justissimo expeditissimum.
them and to all the best and most righteous one of the speediest nature. (14). And
 Quod idem videbatur Scipioni, qui quidem, quasi præ-
this same opinion was held by Scipio, who indeed, as if he had a pre-
 sagiret, perpaucis diebus ante mortem, quum et Philus et Manilius
sentiment, a very few days before his death, when both Philus and Manilius
 et plures alii adessent, tuque etiam, Scævola, venisses mecum,
and many others were present, and you also, Scævola, had come with me,
 disseruit triduum de Republica ; cujus disputationis fere
argued for three days about the State ; and of this discussion almost the
 extremum fuit de immortalitate animorum— quæ dicebat se
last topic was on the immortality of spirits — things which he said he
 audissè ex Africano in quiete per visum. Si id est ita ut
had heard from Africanus in sleep through a vision. If it is the case that
 animus cujusque optimi evolet facillime in morte, tamquam,
the spirit of all the best people flies away the most easily in death, as it were,
 e custodia vinculisque corporis, cui censemuisse faciliorem
from the ward and prison of the body, who do we think had a readier
 cursum ad deos quam Scipio ? Quocirca vereor ne mœrere
passage to the gods than Scipio ? Wherefore I fear that to sorrow over
 hoc eventu ejus sit invidi magis quam amici.
this fortune of his is the part of one who is envious rather than a friend.

Autem sin illa veriora, ut interitus animorum
But if the other statements are more true, that the destruction of spirits
 et corporum sit idem, nec ullus sensus maneat, ut est
and bodies is identical, and that no other feeling is left, as there is
 nihil boni in morte sic certe nihil mali. Enim sensu
no good in death, so at any rate there is no evil. For when feeling is
 amisso fit idem quasi non esset natus omnino; tamen
lost it is just the same as if he had not been born at all; and yet that
 quem esse natum et nos gaudemus, et hæc civitas dum erit
he was born both we rejoice, and this state as long as it shall
 lætabitur. Quamobrem, cum illo, quidem, ut dixi supra,
exist will be glad. (15.) Wherefore, with him, indeed, as I said above,
 est actum optime; mecum incommodius; quem
it has fared excellently well; but with me things are worse; in whose case it
 fuerat æquius ut introieram prius, sic exire
had been more just that as I had entered it before him, so I should depart
 e vita prius. Sed tamen fruor recordatione nostræ amicitiae
from life before him. But yet I enjoy the recollection of our friendship
 sic ut videar vixisse beate, quia vixerim cum
to such a degree that I seem to have lived a happy life, because I lived with
 Scipione; quocum mihi fuit conjuncta cura de re
Scipio; for with him I had a joint charge with regard to matters
 publica et privata, quocum communis et domus et militia,
public and private, with him I shared both home and military service,
 et id in quo est omnis vis amicitiae — summa consensio
and that in which lies all the force of friendship—a most complete unanimity
 voluntatum, studiorum sententiarum. Itaque non tam ista
of wishes, pursuits and ideas. And thus it is not so much that
 fama sapientiae quam Fannius commemoravit modo
reputation for philosophy which Fannius mentioned just now that
 delectat me, præsertim falsa, quam quod spero memoriam
delights me, especially if it is false, as the fact that I hope that the memory
 nostræ amicitiae fore sempiternam. Idque est eo magis cordi mihi
of our friendship will be eternal. And this is the more delightful to me
 quod, ex omnibus seculis, vix tria aut quatuor paria amicorum
because, out of all generations, scarcely three or four pairs of friends
 nominantur; in quo genere videor sperare amicitiam
are mentioned; and in this class I seem to hope that the friendship of
 Scipionis et Lælii fore notam posteritati. Istud, quidem,
Scipio and Lælius will be known to future ages. (16.) F. That, indeed,

Læli, est necesse ita. Sed quoniam fecisti mentionem
Lælius, must be so. But since you have made mention of
amicitiæ et sumus otiosi, feceris pergratum mihi
friendship and we are at leisure, you will do a very great pleasure to me and to
Scævola item, spero, si, quemadmodum soles de ceteris
Scævola also, I hope, if, just as you are wont in the case of all other
rebus, quum quærantur ex te, sic disputaris de
subjects, when questions are asked of you, so you will argue on the subject of
amicitia—quid sentias, qualem existimes
friendship—what your feeling is, of what character you consider it to be, and
quæ præcepta des. Mihi, vero, erit pergratum;
what instructions you give. Sc. To me, indeed, it will be a very great pleasure;
atque quum conarer agere id ipsum tecum, Fannius ante-
and when I was trying to negotiate that very matter with you, Fannius fore-
vertit; quamobrem feceris admodum gratum utrique nostrum.
stalled me; and so you will do a very great pleasure to both of us.

CHAPTER V.

EGO vero non gravarer, si confiderem ipse mihi; nam et
(17.) *L. I indeed should not take it amiss, if I trusted my own self; for both*
res est præclara, et sumus otiosi, ut Fannius dixit. Sed
the subject is a glorious one, and we are at leisure, as Fannius has said. But
quis sum ego? Aut quæ facultas est in me? Ista est consuetudo
who am I? Or what power lies in me? This is a custom with
doctorum, eaque, Græcorum, ut ponatur iis de
learned men, and those, too, Greeks, to have a subject set before them on
quo disputent, quamvis subito. Est magnum opus,
which they may argue, however impromptu. It is a great task, and
egetque non parva exercitatione. Quamobrem quæ possunt
requires no small practice. Wherefore the points which may
disputari de amicitia censeo petatis ab eis qui
be argued on the subject of friendship I think you should seek from those who
profitentur ista; ego possum tantum hortari vos ut anteponatis
profess such things; I can only advise you to prefer
amicitiam omnibus rebus humanis. Enim est nihil tam ap-
friendship to all other things in life. For there is nothing so in accord-
tum naturæ tam conveniens ad res, vel secundas vel
ance with nature or so adapted to circumstances, whether prosperous or

adversas. Sed hoc primum sentio amicitiam non posse
the reverse. (18.) But this is my first feeling that friendship cannot
 esse nisi in bonis. Neque reseco id ad vivum, ut illi
exist except amongst good people. Nor do I cut this to the quick, as those do
 qui disserunt hæc subtilius vere, fortasse, sed parum ad
who argue these matters more nicely, with truth perhaps, but too little for
 communem utilitatem; enim negant quemquam virum esse
the general advantage; for they deny that any man can be
 bonum, nisi sapientem. Ita sit sane; sed interpretantur eam
good, except a philosopher. So be it then; but they mean that
 sapientiam quam nemo mortalis est adhuc consecutus; autem,
philosophy which no human being has ever yet attained; whereas,
 nos debemus spectare ea quæ sunt in communi usu
we ought to look to those things which are found in general experience
 vitæque, non ea quæ finguntur aut optantur. Ego
and life, and not to those which are imagined or desired. I shall
 nunquam dicam C. Fabricium, M'. Curium, Ti. Corun-
never say that Caius Fabricius, Manius Curius, or Titus Corun-
 canium, quos nostri majores judicabant sapientes fuisse sapientes
canius, whom our ancestors adjudged to be philosophers were philosophers
 ad istorum normam. Quare habeant sibi
according to their standard. Wherefore they may keep for themselves that
 nomen sapientiæ et invidiosum et obscurum; concedantque ut
title of philosophy so full of envy and mystery; and let them grant that
 hi fuerint boni viri. Ne quidem id facient; negabunt
these were good men. But not even that will they do; for they will deny
 id posse concedi nisi sapienti. Igitur agamus
that this can be granted except to a philosopher. (19.) Let us therefore treat
 pingui Minerva, ut aiunt. Qui ita gerunt se,
with dull wit, as the saying is. Those who so conduct themselves, and
 ita vivunt ut eorum fides, integritas, æquitas liberalitas pro-
so live that their good faith, uprightness, fairness and generosity is ap-
 betur, sit nec in illis ulla cupiditas vel libido, vel
proved, and so that there is not in them any spirit of greed or lust, or
 audacia, sintque magna constantia, ut ii fuerunt quos
boldness, and so that they are men of great consistency, as those were whom
 modo nominavi—putemus hos ut sunt
I have just mentioned—let us consider that they as they have been con-
 habiti sic etiam appellandos 'bonos,' quia quantum homines
sidered so also must be called 'good,' because as far as men

possunt sequuntur naturam, optimam ducem bene vivendi.
can they follow nature, the best guide to a good life.

Enim videor mihi perspicere sic — nos esse natos
For I seem to myself to look at the matter in this light—that we were born

ita ut esset inter omnes quædam societas, autem
on such terms that there was between us all a certain bond of fellowship, and

major ut quisque accederet propius. Itaque cives
greater in proportion as each came closer to it. And so citizens are

potiores quam peregrini, et propinqui quam alieni; enim cum his
preferable to foreigners, and relations to strangers; for with them

natura ipsa peperit amicitiam, sed ea habet non satis
Nature herself has given birth to friendship, but it has not sufficient

firmitatis. Namque amicitia præstat propinquitati hoc quod
strength. For friendship excels relationship in the fact that whilst

benevolentia potest tolli ex propinquitate, non potest tolli
goodwill can be removed from relationship, it cannot be removed

ex amicitia; enim sublata benevolentia nomen amicitiae
is removed, whilst that of relationship remains. (20.) Now how great the

tollitur, propinquitatis manet. Autem quanta
force of friendship is can be best understood from this fact, that from the

vis amicitiae sit potest maxime intelligi ex hoc quod ex
infinite bond of fellowship between the human race, which nature herself

infinita societate humani generis, quam natura ipsa
conciliavit, res est ita contracta et adducta in

angustum ut omnis caritas jungatur aut inter duos aut
narrow limits that all affection is cemented either between two people or

inter paucos.
amongst a few.

CHAPTER VI.

AUTEM amicitia est nihil aliud nisi summa consensio omnium
Now friendship is nothing else than the most complete unanimity on all

rerum divinarum humanarumque, cum benevolentia et
points divine and human, combined with goodwill and

caritate; qua, quidem, haud scio an sapientia
affection; than which, indeed, I am inclined to think that, philosophy only

excepta, nihil melius sit datum homini a immortalibus
excepted, no better gift has been given to man by the immortal
 diis. Alii præponunt divitias, alii valitudinem, alii potentiam, alii
gods. Some prefer riches, others good health, others influence, others
 honores, multi etiam voluptates. Hoc extremum, quidem, est
honours, and many even pleasure. This last, indeed, belongs

beluarum; autem illa superiora caduca et incerta,
to the brute creation; whilst those former objects are frail and uncertain,
 posita non tam in nostris consiliis quam in temeritate fortunæ.
depending not so much on our plans as on the freaks of fortune.

Autem qui ponunt summum bonum in virtute—illi, quidem,
But those who place the highest good in virtue—they, indeed,
 præclare; sed hæc ipsa virtus et gignit et continet
do excellently well; but this very virtue both gives birth to and comprises
 amicitiam; nec potest amicitia esse sine virtute ullo pacto.
friendship; nor can friendship exist without virtue in any possible way.

Jam interpretemur virtutem ex consuetudine vitæ
 (21.) *Now let us understand virtue in accordance with the habit of our life*
 nostrique sermonis; nec metiamur eam ut quidam docti
and our conversation; and let us not estimate it as some learned

magnificentia verborum; numeremusque
men have done by the splendour of language; and let us account
 eos viros bonos, qui habentur, Paulos, Catones, Gallos,
those men to be good, who are so considered, the Pauli, Catos, Galli,
 Scipiones, Philos; communis vita est contenta his;
Scipios, and Philo; for general life is satisfied with these men;

autem omittamus eos qui reperiuntur nusquam omnino. Inter
but let us leave out those who are found nowhere at all. Amongst
 tales viros, igitur, amicitia habet opportunitates tantas quantas
such men, then, friendship has advantages so great that I
 queo vix dicere.

Principio qui potest vita esse
can scarcely mention them. (22.) In the first place, how can a life be
 vitalis, ut Ennius ait, quæ non conquiescat in mutua
worth living, as Ennius says, which does not rest on the reciprocal
 benevolentia amici? Quid dulcius quam habere qui-

goodwill of a friend? What is more pleasant than to have one with
 cum audeas loqui omnia ut tecum? Quis
whom you may venture to talk about everything just as with yourself? What so
 tantus fructus esset in prosperis rebus, nisi haberes qui
great enjoyment would there be in success, unless you had some-

gauderet illis æque ac tu ipse? Vero esset difficile
one to rejoice in it equally with yourself? Now it would be difficult
 ferre adversas sine eo qui ferret eas etiam gravius quam tu.
to bear reverses without one to feel them even more heavily than oneself.
 Denique, cæteræ quæ expetuntur sunt opportunæ singulæ
In short, all other objects which are sought after are advantageous each as
 fere singulis rebus—divitias ut utare, opes ut colare,
a rule for one particular object— riches for use, influence for respect,
 honores ut laudare, voluptates ut gaudeas, valetudo ut careas
honours for praise, pleasure for enjoyment, health for freedom from
 dolore, et fungare corporis muneribus; amicitia
pain, and the performance of physical functions; whereas, friendship
 continet plurimas res; quoquo te verteris est præsto;
embraces very many objects: wherever you turn there it is before you;
 nullo loco excluditur; est numquam intempestiva, numquam
from no place is it shut out; it is never unreasonable, and never
 molesta. Itaque non utimur aqua non igni, ut aiunt,
troublesome. And so we do not employ water or fire, as the saying is,
 pluribus locis quam amicitia. Neque ego nunc loquor de
on more occasions than friendship. Nor am I now speaking about
 vulgari aut mediocri, quæ, tamen, ipsa et delectat et
the common or ordinary kind, which, however, in itself is both delightful and
 prodest, sed de vera et perfecta, qualis fuit
profitable, but of the genuine and full-grown kind, such as was the friendship of
 eorum pauci qui nominantur. Nam amicitia facit et secundas res
those few who are mentioned. For friendship makes both prosperity
 splendidiore et adversas leviores partiens communicansque.
more brilliant and adversity lighter by taking a share and portion of it.

CHAPTER VII.

QUUMQUE amicitia contineat plurimas et maximas commodi-
 (23.) *And since friendship embraces very many and very great advan-*
 tates, tum illa nimirum præstat omnibus, quod præluceat
tages, it also in this point naturally surpasses all the others, that it casts a gleam
 bonam spem in posterum, nec patitur animos
forwards of good hope for the future, and does not suffer the spirits to
 debilitari aut cadere. Enim qui intuetur verum amicum
become weakened or to fall. For he who looks at a true friend

intuetur quasi aliquod exemplar sui. Quocirca et
looks, as it were, at a kind of likeness of himself. Wherefore both the
 absentes adsunt et egentes abundant, et imbecilli valent, et—
absent are present and the needy have plenty, and the weak are strong, and—
 quod est difficilius dictu—mortui vivunt; tantus honos,
what is more difficult to say—the dead live; so great is the honour,
 memoria desiderium prosequitur amicorum. Ex quo, illorum
memory and regret that attends them from friends. Hence, in the one case
 videtur beata mors, horum laudabilis vita. Quod si
there seems to be a happy death, in the other a praiseworthy life. But if you
 exemeris ex natura rerum conjunctionem benevolentiae, nec
take away from nature the union of goodwill, neither
 ulla domus nec urbs poterit stare; ne quidem agri cultus
any house nor city will be able to stand; and not even agriculture will
 permanebit. Si id minus intelligitur quanta vis amicitiae
continue. And if it is not understood how great the force of friendship
 concordiaeque sit, potest percipi ex dissensionibus atque dis-
and harmony is, this may be gathered from quarrels and dis-
 cordiis. Enim quæ domus est tam stabilis, quæ civitas tam
putes. For what house is so firm, or what state so well
 firma quæ non possit funditus everti odiis atque dissidiis?
established as not to be able to be utterly overthrown by hatred or strife?
 Ex quo potest judicari quantum boni sit in amicitia?
Whence we may form an estimate as to how much good there is in friendship?
 Ferunt, quidem, quendam doctum virum Agrigentinum
 (24). They say, indeed, that a learned man of Agrigentum
 vaticinatum Græcis carminibus, amicitiam contrahere discord-
prophesied in Greek verse, saying that friendship unites and variance
 iam dissipare quæ constarent in natura rerum
separates those things that are fixed in the natural world and the
 totoque mundo, quæque moverentur. Atque hoc,
whole of the universe, and also those things which are in motion. And this,
 quidem, omnes mortales et intelligunt et probant re. Itaque
indeed, all people both understand and approve in fact. And so,
 si quando aliquod officium exstitit amici in aut
if at any time any service is displayed on the part of a friend in either
 adeundis aut communicandis periculis, quis est qui non
facing or sharing dangers, who is there that does not
 efferat id maximis laudibus? Qui clamores
extol it with the highest praises? What shouts rang through the

tota cavea nuper, in nova fabula mei hospitis
whole theatre lately, on the occasion of the new play of my guest
 et amici M. Pacuvii, quum rege ignorante uter
and friend Marcus Pacuvius, when on the king not knowing which of the two
 esset Orestes, Pylades diceret se esse Orestem, ut
was Orestes, Pylades declared that he was Orestes, that he might be
 necaretur pro illo; autem Orestes perseveraret se esse Orestem,
put to death in his stead; but Orestes maintained that he was Orestes,
 ita ut erat. Stantes plaudebant in ficta re; quid
as he actually was. They stood up and applauded at a fictitious case; what
 arbitramur fuisse facturos in vera? Natura, ipsa
do we think they would have done in a real case? Nature, of her own
 facile indicabat suam vim, quum homines judicarent id
accord easily showed her force, since people decided that to
 recte fieri in altero quod possent non facere ipsi.
be rightly done in the case of another which they could not do themselves.
 Hactenus videor mihi potuisse dicere quid sentirem de
Thus far I seem to myself to have been able to say what I felt on
 amicitia. Si sunt qua præterea—autem credo
the subject of friendship. If there are any other points besides — and I believe
 esse multa—quæritote, si videbitur, ab iis qui
there are many—you must inquire about them, if it shall seem good, of those who
 disputant ista. Autem potius a te; quamquam
discuss such matters. (25.) F. But we prefer to inquire of you; although
 sæpe quæsi et audiavi ab istis etiam, non invitis,
I have often asked and heard from those people also, not unwillingly,
 equidem sed filum tuæ orationis est quoddam aliud.
indeed, but the thread of your speech is somewhat different. Sc. You
 Diceris id magis, Fanni, si affuisses nuper in
would say so the more, Fannius, if you had been present lately in the
 hortis Scipionis tum quum est disputatum de
gardens of Scipio at the time when there was a discussion on the subject
 Republica. Qualis patronus justitiæ tum fuit contra accuratam
of the State. What an advocate of justice he then was in answer to the careful
 orationem Philii! Id, quidem, fuit facile, justissimo viro
speech of Philus! F. That, indeed, was easy, for the justest of men
 defendere justitiam. Quid amicitiam? Nonne facile
to defend justice. Sc. What about friendship? Is not that an easy
 ei qui ceperit maximam gloriam ob eam servatam
subject for him who won the highest renown through its being preserved
 summa fide, constantia justitiæque?
with the greatest good faith, consistency and justice?

CHAPTER VIII.

Hoc, quidem, est afferre vim ; enim quid refert qua
 (26.) *L. This, indeed, is applying force ; for what does it matter by what*
 rogatione cogatis me ? Cogitis certe. Enim est quum
questions you compel me ? For compel me you certainly do. For it is both
 difficile tum ne quidem æquum obsistere studiis generorum,
difficult and also not even fair to resist the zeal of sons-in-law,
 præsertim in bona re. Sæpissime, igitur, cogitanti de amici-
especially in a good case. Very often, then, when I think about friend-
 tia, illud solet videri mihi maxime considerandum— utrum
ship, this point is wont to seem to me most worthy of deliberation—whether
 amicitia sit desiderata propter imbecillitatem atque inopiam, ut
friendship is longed for on account of weakness and indigence, so
 in dandis recipiendisque meritis quisque acciperet
that in the case of giving and receiving services each might receive
 ab alio id quod posset minus per se ipse, redderetque
from another what he could not have through himself, and give it back
 vicissim, an, quidem, hoc esset proprium amicitiae. Sed
in return, or whether, indeed, this was peculiar to friendship. But there
 alia causa antiquior et pulchrior, et profecta magis a
is another reason of greater antiquity and beauty, and originated more from
 natura ipsa. Enim amor—ex quo amicitia nominata—est princeps
Nature herself. For love—from which friendship gets its name—is the prime
 ad conjungendam benevolentiam. Nam utilitates, quidem, sæpe
factor in uniting good will. For advantages, indeed, are often
 percipiuntur etiam ab iis qui coluntur simulatione amicitiae
reaped even from those who are courted on a pretence of friendship
 et observantur causa temporis. Autem in amicitia
and are honoured for the sake of temporary gain. But in friendship there is
 nihil fictum nihil simulatum ; et quidquid est in ea id est verum
no feint and no pretence ; and whatever exists in it is genuine
 et voluntarium. Quapropter amicitia videtur mihi orta
and spontaneous. (27.) Wherefore friendship seems to me to have originated
 potius a natura quam ab indigentia, et applicatione
rather with Nature than with want, and from an attachment of
 animi, cum quodam sensu amandi potius quam
the mind, together with a certain feeling of love rather than from any
 cogitatione quantum utilitatis illa res esset habitura.
thought as to how much advantage that condition would involve. And,

Quidem, quale quod sit potest animadverti in quibusdam
indeed, of what nature this is may be observed in certain of the
 bestiis; quæ ita amant ex se natos ad quoddam tempus et
brute creation; for they so love their young up to a certain time and
 ita amantur ab eis, ut earum sensus facile appareat. In
are so loved by them, that their feeling is easily seen. And in the
 homine quod est multo evidentius; primum, ex ea caritate
case of man this is much more clear; first, owing to that affection
 quæ est inter natos et parentes, quæ non potest dirimi
which there is between children and parents, which cannot be torn asunder
 nisi detestabili scelere; deinde, quum similis sensus amoris
except by abominable crime; in the next place, as a kindred feeling of love
 exstitit, si nacti sumus aliquem cum cujus moribus et natura con-
arises, if we meet with someone with whose habits and nature
 gruamus, quod videamur perspicere in eo, quasi, quoddam lumen
we agree, because we seem to behold in him, as it were, a certain light
 probitatis et virtutis. Enim est nihil amabilius virtute,
of integrity and virtue. (28.) For there is nothing more lovable than virtue,
 nihil quod magis alliciat ad diligendum, quippe quum propter
nothing that more allures to love, since, owing to
 virtutem et probitatem diligamus quodam modo etiam eos quos
virtue and uprightness we love in a certain way even those whom
 numquam vidimus. Quis est qui non usurpet memoriam
we have never seen. Who is there who does not regard the memory
 C. Fabricii M'. Curii cum aliqua caritate et benevo-
of Caius Fabricius and Manius Curius with some affection and good-
 lentia, numquam viderit quos? Autem quis est qui
will, though he has never seen them? But who is there who does
 non oderit Tarquinium Superbum, Sp. Cassium Sp.
not hate Tarquinius Superbus, Spurius Cassius and Spurius
 Mælius? Decertatum de imperio in Italia cum duo-
Mælius? We have contended for supreme power in Italy with two
 bus ducibus, Pyrrho et Hannibale; ab altero, propter ejus
great leaders, Pyrrhus and Hannibal; from the one, on account of his
 probitatem, habemus animos non nimis alienos, alterum,
integrity, we have our minds not so very much estranged, whilst the other,
 propter crudelitatem, hæc civitas semper oderit.
on account of his cruelty, this State will always detest.

CHAPTER IX.

QUOD si vis probitatis est tanta ut diligamus eam vel in eis
 (29.) *But if the force of integrity is so great that we love it either in those*
quos numquam vidimus, vel, quod est majus, etiam in
whom we have never seen, or, what is still more, even in the
hoste, quid mirum si hominum animi moveantur quum
case of an enemy, what wonder if people's spirits are affected when
videantur perspicere virtutem et bonitatem eorum quibuscum
they seem to behold the virtue and goodness of those with whom
possuit esse usu conjuncti? Quamquam amor confirmatur et
they may be intimately acquainted? Although love is strengthened both
accepto beneficio et perspecto studio, et adjuncta con-
by receiving kindness and by perceiving zeal, and by the addition of in-
suetudine; quibus rebus adhibitis ad illum primum motum
timacy; for when these attributes are applied to that first impulse
animi et amoris, quædam admirabilis magnitudo benevolentia
of the spirit and love, a certain extraordinary greatness of good-will
exardescit. Si qui putant quam proficisci ab imbecillitate,
blazes forth. And if any people think that this arises from weakness,
ut sit per quem quisque assequatur quod desi-
that there may be someone through whom each may attain what he longs
deret, relinquunt, sane, humilem et minime generosum ortum
for, they leave, indeed, a lowly and by no means noble source
amicitiæ, quam volunt natam ex inopia atque
of friendship, which they make out to spring from want of resources and
indigentia. Si quod esset ita, ut quisque arbitraretur esse
need. But if this were so, then as each thought there was
minimum in se, ita esset aptissimus ad amicitiam. Quod
least in himself, so he would be most adapted to friendship. But this
est longe secus. Enim ut quisque plurimum confidit
is far otherwise. (30.) For in proportion as each man most trusts
sibi, et ut quisque est maxime munitus virtute et sapientia,
himself, and as each is so very greatly fortified by virtue and philosophy,
ut egeat nullo, judicetque omnia sua posita in
that he requires nothing, and considers all his belongings as dependent on
seipso, ita maxime excellit in expetendis colendisque
himself, even so he is the most prominent in seeking out and cultivating
amicitiis. Enim quid? Africanus indigens mei?
friendships. For what shall I say? Is Africanus in want of me? By

Minime, hercle; ac ne, quidem, ego illius; sed ego
no means, that is certain; nor, indeed, am I in want of him; but I through
quadam admiratione ejus virtutis, ille vicissim, for-
a certain admiration for his virtue loved him, and he in turn, per-
tasse nonnulla opinione quam habebat de meis moribus, dilexit
haps through some idea which he had of my character, loved
me. Consuetudo auxit benevolentiam. Sed quamquam multæ et
me. Intimacy increased good-will. But although many
magnæ utilitates consecutæ sunt, tamen causæ diligendi sunt non
great advantages followed, yet the grounds of love did not
profectæ ab spe earum. Enim ut sumus benefici liberalesque,
proceed from the hope of them. (31.) For as we are kind and generous,
non ut exigamus gratiam—enim neque fœnera-
not that we may demand a favour—for we do not, indeed, make a money
mur beneficium, sed sumus natura propensi ad liberalitatem—
business of kindness, but we are naturally disposed to generosity—
sic putamus amicitiam expetendam, non adducti
so we think that friendship ought to be sought, not because we are drawn on
spe mercedis, sed quod omnis ejus fructus inest in
through the hope of gain, but because all its advantage lies in
amore ipso. At ii qui, ritu pecudum, referunt omnia ad
love itself. (32.) But those who, like cattle, refer everything to
voluptatem, longe dissentiunt. Nec mirum; enim pos-
pleasure, are widely at variance with us. And no wonder; for those
sunt suspicere nihil altum, nihil magnificum ac divinum, qui
can look up at nothing lofty, nothing splendid and heavenly, who
abjecerunt omnes suas cogitationes in rem tam humilem tamque
have debased all their thoughts to an object so low and so
contemptam. Quamobrem hos, quidem, removeamus ab hoc
despicable. Wherefore such people, indeed, we should keep away from this
sermone; autem ipsi intelligamus sensum diligendi et
discourse; whilst we ourselves should understand that a feeling of love and
caritatem, benevolentiae, natura gigni significatione probitatis
affection, of goodwill, is naturally produced when a token of integrity
facta. Qui appetiverunt quam applicant sese et
is shown. And those who seek this devote themselves and
admovent propius, ut fruantur et usu et moribus
bring themselves closer, that they may enjoy both the acquaintance and character
ejus quem cœperunt diligere, sintque pares in amore
of him whom they begin to love, and that they may be equal in love

et æquales propensioresque ad merendum bene quam ad
and on the same terms and more inclined to deserve well than to
 reposcendum. Atque sit inter eos hæc honesta certatio.
ask back a favour. And let there be between them this honourable rivalry.

Sic et maximæ utilitates capientur ex amicitia, et
Thus not only will the greatest advantages be derived from friendship, but

ejus ortus et gravior et verior a natura
also its source will be both more important and more genuine from nature
 quam ab imbecillitate. Nam si utilitas conglutinaret amicitias,
than from weakness. For if advantage cemented friendships,

eadem, commutata, dissolveret; sed quia natura non potest
it again, when changed, would break them up; but because nature cannot be
 mutari, idcirco veræ amicitiae sunt sempiternæ. Quidem,
changed, on that account true friendships are eternal. Now, indeed,

videtis ortum amicitiae, nisi, forte, vultis quid ad
you see the source of friendship, unless, perchance, you wish anything in addition
 hæc.

Tu, vero, tu, perge, Læli; enim respondeo meo
to this. F. Do you, nay, do you, go on, Lælius; for I answer in my own
 jure pro hoc, qui est minor natu. Tu
right on behalf of my friend here, who is my junior. (33.) Sc. And you do

recte, quidem; quamobrem audiamus.
rightly, indeed; wherefore let us listen.

CHAPTER X.

AUDITE, ergo, optimi viri, ea quæ sæpissime
L. Listen, then, most excellent friends, to those points which very frequently
 disserebantur inter Scipionem et me de amicitia.
used to be discussed between Scipio and myself on the subject of friendship.

Quamquam ille, quidem, dicebat nihil esse difficilius quam
Although he, indeed, used to say that nothing was more difficult than
 amicitiam permanere usque ad extremum vitæ. Nam sæpe
for friendship to last up to the very end of life. For it often

incidere vel ut utrique non idem expediret, vel ut non
happened either that both had not the same interests, or that they did not

idem sentirent de Republica. Dicebat, etiam,
hold the same opinion on the subject of the State. He said, also, that

hominum mores sæpe mutari, alias adversis rebus, alias
people's characters often changed, sometimes through reverses, at others

ingravescente ætate. Atque capiebat exemplum earum
through the increasing weight of years. And he took an illustration of those
 rerum ex similitudine ineuntis ætatis, quod summi
truths from a comparison of the commencement of life, in that the most attached
 amores puerorum sæpe ponerentur una cum prætexta.
affections of boys are often laid aside together with the garb of boyhood.

Autem sin perduxissent ad adolescentiam, tamen interdum
 (34.) *But if they continue them to early manhood, they still are sometimes*
 dirimi contentione vel uxoriæ conditionis vel alicujus
rent asunder by strife arising from either the married state or some
 commodi, quod uterque posset non adipisci idem. Quod si qui
advantage, because both could not attain the same object. Or if any
 essent provecti longius in amicitia, tamen sæpe labefactari si inci-
have advanced further in friendship, yet they often waver if they
 dissent in contentionem honoris; enim esse nullam majorem
come into a competition for office; for there is no greater
 pestem amicitii quam, in plerisque, cupiditatem pecuniæ,
curse to friendships than, in the case of most people, a desire for money,
 in quibusque optimis certamen honoris et gloriæ; ex quo
and in all the best a rivalry in office and fame; whence the
 maximas inimicitias sæpe exstitisse inter amicissimos.
greatest enmities have often arisen amongst the firmest friends. (35.)

Enim magna et, plerumque, justa dissidia nasci quum aliquid
For great and, as a rule, righteous quarrels take place when any
 postularetur ab amicis quod esset non rectum, ut essent
request is made of friends which is not right, that they may be
 aut ministri libidinis, aut adjutores ad injuriam. Qui re-
either servants of lust, or aiders in wrong-doing. And those who
 cusarent quod, quamvis honeste facerent id, tamen argueren-
refuse this, however honourably they do so, are nevertheless shown
 tur deserere jus amicitiae ab iis quibus nollent
to be abandoning the rights of friendship by those whom they are unwilling
 obsequi; autem illos qui auderent postulare quidvis ab
to gratify; whilst those who dare to ask anything they choose of a
 amico, profiteri ipsa postulatione se facturos omnia
friend, give out by that very demand that they will do anything for a
 amici causa. Eorum querela non modo familiaritates inveteratas
friend's sake. By their differences not only are friendships of long-standing
 solere extinguui, sed etiam sempiterna odia gigni. Hæc ita
wont to be destroyed, but also eternal enmities to arise. These so

multa fata, quasi, impendere amicitii, ut diceret videri sibi
many fates, as it were, hang over friendships, that he said it seemed to him

non modo philosophiæ, sed etiam felicitatis subterfugere
a mark not only of philosophy, but also of good fortune to escape them
 omnia.
all.

CHAPTER XI.

QUAMOBREM, videamus primum id, si placet—quatenus
 (36.) *Wherefore, let us look first of all to this, if you please—how far*
 amor debeat progredi in amicitia. Si Coriolanus habuit amicos,
love should go in friendship. If Coriolanus had friends,
 num debuere illi, cum Coriolano, ferre arma contra
ought they, in league with Coriolanus, to have borne arms against
 patriam? num debuerunt amici juvare Viscellinum
their Country? ought his friends to have aided Viscellinus when
 appetentem regnum, num Sp. Mælium? Videbamus, quidem,
aiming at kingly power, or Spurius Mælius? (37.) We saw, it is true,

Ti. Gracchum derelictum a Q. Tuberone æqualibusque
Tiberius Gracchus deserted by Quintus Tubero and his contemporary
 amicis vexantem Rempublicam. At C. Blossius Cumanus,
friends when harassing the State. But Caius Blossius Cumanus, the

hospes vestræ familiæ, Scævola, cum venisset ad me, qui aderam
friend of your family, Scævola, when he had come to me, who was present

consulibus Lænati et Rupilio in consilio, deprecatum,
to support the consuls Lænas and Rupilius in counsel, to beg indulgence,
 afferebat hanc causam ut ignoscerem sibi—quod fecisset Ti.

alleged this reason for my pardoning him—that he had made Tiberius
 Gracchum tanti ut putaret sibi faciendum quidquid ille
Gracchus of so much account that he thought he ought to do whatever that

vellet. Tum ego: ‘Etiamne si vellet te ferre
great man wished. Thereupon I said: ‘What, even if he wished you to carry

faces in Capitolium?’ ‘Numquam,’ inquit, ‘voluisset
firebrands into the Capitol?’ ‘Never,’ said he, ‘would he have wished

id, quidem; sed, si voluisset, paruissem.’ Videtis
that, it is certain; but, if he had wished it, I should have obeyed.’ You see

quam nefaria vox; et, hercle, fecit ita, vel etiam plus
what an execrable expression this was; and, indeed, he did so, or even more

quam dixit. Enim ille non paruit temeritati Ti. Grac-
than he said. For he did not obey the rashness of Tiberius Grac-
 chi, sed præfuit; nec præbuit se comitem illius furoris,
chus, but headed it; nor did he lend himself as a companion to his madness,
 sed ducem. Itaque, hac amentia, perterritus nova
but as a leader. And so, through this act of frenzy, alarmed by the new
 quæstione, profugit in Asiam, contulit se ad hostes, persolvit
investigation, he fled into Asia, betook himself to the enemy, and paid a
 graves justasque poenas reipublicæ. Est, igitur, nulla excusatio
heavy and righteous penalty to the State. There is, therefore, no excuse for
 peccati si peccaveris amici causa. Nam quum virtus fuerit
a sin if you have sinned for a friend's sake. For when virtue has been
 conciliatrix amicitiae, est difficile amicitiam manere, si
the cementer of friendship, it is difficult for friendship to stand fast, if you
 defeceris a virtute. Quod si statuerimus rectum vel
have fallen away from virtue. (38.) But if we lay it down as right either
 concedere amicis quidquid velint, vel impetrare ab iis quidquid
to grant to friends whatever they wish, or to obtain from them whatever
 velimus, quidem simus perfecta sapientia, si res
we wish, we should certainly be men of complete philosophy, supposing the matter
 habeat nihil vitii. Sed loquimur de iis amicis qui sunt ante
involve no vice. But we are speaking of those friends who are before
 oculos, quos videmus aut de quibus accepimus memoriam, aut
our eyes, whom we see or of whom we have heard traditions, or
 quos communis vita novit. Ex hoc numero nobis exempla
whom ordinary life has known. From this category our examples
 sunt sumenda; et maxime, quidem, eorum qui accedunt proxime
must be taken; and mostly, indeed, of those who come nearest
 ad sapientiam. Videmus Papum Æmilium fuisse familiarem
to philosophy. (39.) We see that Papus Æmilius was intimate with

C. Luscino—sic accepimus a patribus—bis consules
Caius Luscinius—so we have heard from our fathers—twice were they consuls
 una, et collegas in censura; et tum est proditum
together, and also colleagues in the censorship; and also it is recorded that

M'. Curium et Ti. Coruncanium fuisse conjunctissimos cum iis
Manius Curius and Titus Coruncanius were most closely united with them
 et inter se. Igitur possumus ne quidem suspicari quem-
and with each other. Therefore we can not even suspect that

quam horum contendisse quippiam ab amico quod esset contra
any of these strained to obtain anything from a friend that was opposed to

fidem, jusjurandum rempublicam. Nam hoc, quidem, in
good faith, their oath and the State. For as to this, indeed, in the
 talibus viris, quid attinet dicere si contendisset
case of such men, what is the need of saying that if anyone had so strained
 non fuisse impetratum, quum illi fuerint sanctissimi
he would not have gained his object, since they were most upright
 viri? autem, sit æque nefas facere aliquid tale et
men? and, indeed, it is equally criminal to perform any such request as to make
 rogare. At, vero, C. Carbo, C. Cato sequebantur Ti.
the request. And yet, indeed, Caius Carbo and Caius Cato followed Tiberius
 Gracchum, tunc, quidem, frater Caius minime,
Gracchus, and though at the time, indeed, his brother Caius did not, yet
 nunc idem acerrimus.
now again he does so most keenly.

CHAPTER XII.

IGITUR, hæc lex sancitur in amicitia— ut neque rogemus
 (40.) *Let, then, this law be ratified in friendship—that we neither request*
 turpes res, nec faciamus rogati. Enim est turpis
dishonourable deeds, nor perform them when requested. For it is a base
 excusatio, et minime accipienda, quum in ceteris peccatis,
excuse, and by no means to be admitted, both in the case of all other faults,
 tum si quis fateatur se fecisse contra
and especially if a man should confess that he has acted against the interests
 rempublicam causa amici. Etenim, sumus locati eo
of the State for the sake of a friend. For, indeed, we are placed in this
 loco, Fanni et Scævola, ut nos oporteat prospicere longe
position, Fannius and Scævola, that we must look far ahead
 casus reipublicæ futuros. Enim consuetudo jam
to occurrences in the State in time to come. For custom has now
 deflexit aliquantulum de spatio curriculoque majorum.
swerved aside just a very little from the course and career of our ancestors.
 Ti. Gracchus conatus est occupare regnum, vel is
Tiberius Gracchus tried to seize the kingly power, or rather he
 quidem regnavit paucos menses. Num Romanus
indeed did hold that power for a few months. (41.) Had the Roman
 populus audierat aut viderat quid simile? Quid amici
people ever heard or seen anything like it? But what his friends

et propinqui secuti hunc etiam post mortem effecerint in
and relations who followed him even after his death did in regard to

P. Scipionem quoque non dicere sine lacrimis. Nam Carbonem
Publius Scipio I cannot relate without tears. For Carbo
 sustinimus quoquo modo potuimus propter recentem poenam
we endured in whatever way we could on account of the recent punishment

Ti. Gracchi. Quid, autem, expectem de Gracchi
of Tiberius Gracchus. What, indeed, I anticipate in regard to Gracchus's
 tribunatu non libet augurari. Deinde serpit res
tribuneship I do not like to predict. After this comes creeping on a matter
 quæ, quum semel cœpit, labitur proclivius ad perniciem. Videtis
which, when it once begins, glides prone to destruction. You see
 in tabella quanta labe sit jam facta ante, primo
in the case of the ballot how great a ruin was already effected of old, first

Gabinia, autem biennio post Cassia Lege. Jam
by the Gabinian, and then two years afterwards by the Cassian Law. Already
 videor videre populum disjunctum a senatu, maximasque
do I seem to see the people disunited from the senate, and most important
 res agi arbitrio multitudinis. Enim plures discent
affairs transacted at the pleasure of the mob. For more people will learn
 quemadmodum hæc fiant quam quemadmodum his resis-
how these things are done than how they are
 tatur.

Quorsum hæc? Quia sine sociis
withstood. (42.) To what purpose is all this? Because without companions
 nemo conatur quidquam tale. Igitur est præcipiendum
no one attempts anything of the sort. And so we must instruct

bonis ut si aliquo casu ignari inciderint in amicitias
good people that if by any chance they unwittingly light on friendships
 ejus modi, ne existiment se ita alligatos ut non discedant
of that kind, they should not think they are so involved as not to separate

ab amicis peccantibus in aliqua magna re. Autem poena
from their friends if they go wrong in any important matter. But a penalty
 est statuenda improbis; nec, vero, minor iis qui
must be appointed for bad men; and not, indeed, a less severe one for those who
 erunt secuti alterum quam iis qui fuerint ipsi
shall have followed another than for those who shall have been themselves

duces impietatis. Quis clarior in Græcia Themistocle?
ringleaders in guilt. Who was more famous in Greece than Themistocles?

Quis potentior? Qui, quum imperator bello Persico
Who more influential? A man who, when as general in the war with Persia

liberasset Græciam servitute, propterque invidiam esset expulsus
he had freed Greece from slavery, and on account of jealousy had been driven
 in exilium, non tulit injuriam ingratae patriæ, quam de-
into exile, did not endure the wrong of an unthankful country, which he ought
 buit ferre, fecit idem quod Coriolanus fecerat apud nos
to have endured, but did the same thing as Coriolanus had done in our State
 viginti annis ante. Nemo est inventus adjutor his contra
twenty years before. No one was found to aid these men against their
 patriam; itaque uterque conscivit sibi mortem. Quare talis
country; and so each committed suicide. (43.) Wherefore such
 consensio improborum est non modo non tegenda excu-
agreement on the part of bad men is not only not to be covered under the
 satione amicitiae, sed potius vindicanda omni supplicio,
pretext of friendship, but is rather to be visited with every possible punishment,
 ut ne quis putet concessum sibi sequi amicum vel inferentem
that no one may think it allowed him to follow a friend even when waging
 bellum patriæ. Quod, quidem, ut res cœpit ire,
war against his country. And this, indeed, as things begin to go,
 haud seio an sit futurum aliquando. Autem mihi est
I am rather inclined to think will happen some day. But I am
 non minor curæ qualis futura sit respublica post meam
no less anxious what will be the character of the State after my
 mortem quam qualis sit hodie.
death than what it is to-day.

CHAPTER XIII.

IGITUR, hæc sancitur prima lex amicitiae, ut petamus
 (44.) *Let, then, this be ratified as the first law of friendship, that we ask*
 honesta ab amicis, faciamus honesta amicorum causa;
honourable things from friends, and do honourable things for friends' sakes;
 ne quidem expectandum dum rogemur, studium
and that we do not even wait till we are asked, that zeal be
 semper adsit cunctatio absit; gaudeamus, vero, dare
ever present and reluctance absent; that we joy, indeed, in giving
 consilium libere; auctoritas amicorum suadentium bene
advice freely; that the influence of friends counselling good, have
 plurimum valeat in amicitia; eaque et adhibeatur ad
very great weight in friendship; and that it be both applied to giving

monendum non modo aperte, sed etiam acriter, si res
advice not only openly, but also sharply, if the case shall so
 postulabit, et adhibitæ pareatur. Nam opinor qui-
require, and that when applied it be obeyed. (45.) For I think that some
 busdam, quos, audio, habitos sapientes in Græcia, placuisse
people who, I hear, were considered philosophers in Greece, propounded
 quædam mirabilia — sed est nihil quod non persequan-
some very wonderful theories—but there is nothing that they do not follow up
 tur argutius— nimias amicitias esse partim fugiendas;
too shrewdly—that too strong friendships are, partly to be avoided; that it
 sit ne necesse unum esse sollicitum pro pluribus; cuique
be not necessary for one person to be anxious for several; that each
 esse satis superque suarum rerum;
has enough and more than enough to do with his own affairs; that to be too
 nimis implicari alienis esse molestum; esse commo-
much involved in other people's matters is troublesome; that it is most con-
 dissimum habere habenas amicitiae quam laxissimas,
venient to hold the reins of friendship as loose as possible, so that you
 vel adducas vel remittas quas quum velis; enim caput
may either tighten or slacken them as you choose; for the chief requisite
 ad beate vivendum esse securitatem, qua animus possit non
for a happy life is freedom from care, which the spirit cannot
 frui, si, tamquam, unus parturiat pro pluribus. Autem
enjoy, if, as it were, one person is to labour for many. (46.) But they
 aiunt alios dicere, etiam, multo inhumanius—locum quem
say that others declare, and, indeed, much more naturally—a topic on which
 perstrinxi breviter paullo ante— amicitias esse expeten-
I touched briefly a little while ago—that friendships are to be sought
 das causa præsidii adjumentique non benevolentiae neque
after for the sake of protection and aid, not of good will or
 caritatis. Itaque ut quisque habeat minimum firmita-
affection. And so in proportion as each has least strength
 tis viriumque, ita maxime appetere amicitias; ex eo fieri
and vigour, so he most eagerly seeks for friendships; and hence it comes
 ut mulierculæ quærant præsidia amicitiarum magis quam
to pass that weak women seek the protection of friendships more than
 viri, et inopes quam opulenti, et calamitosi quam beati.
men, and poor more than rich, and those in misfortune more than the happy.
 O præclaram sapientam! enim ei qui tollunt amicitiam
 (47.) *What excellent philosophy! for those who take away friendship*

e vita videntur tollere solem e mundo—
out of life seem to take away the sun out of the universe—friendship, than
qua habemus nihil melius, nihil jucundius— a immor-
which we have nothing better, nothing more pleasant—given us by the immor-
talibus Diis. Enim quæ est ista securitas?
tal gods. For what is that freedom of care that they mention?
Blanda specie, quidem, sed reapse repudianda multis locis.
Attractive in appearance, it is true, but in reality to be rejected in many points.
Enim, est neque consentaneum aut non suscipere ullam hon-
For, indeed, it is not proper either not to undertake any honour-
estam rem actionemve ne sis sollicitus aut deponere
able action or matter that you may not be anxious or lay it aside when
susceptam. Quodsi fugimus curam, virtus est fugienda, quæ est
taken up. But if we avoid anxiety, virtue must be avoided, which of
necesse aspernetur atque oderit cum aliqua cura res contrarias
necessity must scorn and hate with some anxiety objects opposed
sibi— ut bonitas malitiam, temperantia libidinem, fortitudo
to itself—just as goodness hates evil, abstinence lust, and bravery
ignaviam. Itaque videas justos maxime dolere in-
cowardice. And so you can see that the righteous are most grieved by un-
justis, fortes imbecilibus, modestos flagitiosis rebus.
righteous, the brave by cowardly, and the temperate by immoderate actions.
Hoc est, ergo, proprium bene constituti animi— et
This is, therefore, the characteristic of a well ordered spirit — both to
lætari bonis rebus, et dolere contrariis. Quamobrem, si
rejoice in good deeds, and to grieve over the opposite. (48.) Wherefore, if
dolor animi cadit in sapientem—qui profecto cadit nisi ar-
grief of spirit falls on a philosopher—and it certainly does fall unless we
bitramur humanitatem extirpatam ex ejus animo—quæ causa
think that human feeling is eradicated from his spirit — what reason
est cur tollamus amicitiam funditus e vita,
is there why we should take friendship entirely away out of life, that we may
ne suscipiamus aliquas molestias propter eam? Enim quid
not undergo a few troubles on account of it? For what is the
interest, sublato motu animi— non dico inter
difference, if you take away the impulse of the spirit— I do not say between a
hominem et pecudem, sed inter hominem et saxum aut truncum—
man and a beast, but between a man and a stone or stock—
aut quidvis ejusdem generis? Enim neque sunt isti
or anything of the same kind? For neither are those people to be

audiendi qui volunt virtutem esse duram et ferream, quasi;
listened to who make out that virtue is hard and of iron, so to speak;

quidem, quæ quum in multis rebus, tum in ami-
whereas, indeed, it is both in many other matters, and especially in friend-
citia, tender and docile; so that friends are, as it were, separated

et bonis, et contrahantur incommodis. Quamo-
on the one hand by prosperity, and brought together by adversity. Wherefore,

brem iste angor qui est sæpe capiendus pro amico non tantum
that grief which is often to be undergone for a friend has not so much

valet ut tollat amicitiam e vita; non plus quam ut virtutes
power as to take away friendship out of life; any more than that virtue

repudientur quia afferunt nonnullas curas et molestias.
should be rejected because it brings some cares and troubles.

CHAPTER XIV.

AUTEM quum contrahat amicitiam, ut dixi supra, si qua significatio
But since it cements friendship, as I said above, if any token

virtutis eluceat, ad quam similis animus applicet et adjungat
of virtue gleams forth, to which a kindred mind may attach and join

se—quum id contingit, amor necesse est exoritur. Enim
itself—when that happens, love must of necessity arise. (49.) For

quid tam absurdum quam delectari multis inanibus rebus,
what is so inconsistent as to take pleasure in many frivolous objects, such

ut honore, gloria, ædificio, vestitu, corporisque cultu; autem non
as honour, glory, buildings, clothes and personal refinement; and not

admodum delectari animo prædito virtute eo
to take exceeding pleasure in a spirit endowed with virtue of such a nature

qui possit vel amare, vel, itaque dicam, adamare? Enim nihil est
that it can either love, or, so to speak, return love? For nothing is

jucundius remuneratione benevolentiae, nihil vicissi-
more pleasant than a return of goodwill, nothing more so than the inter-

tudine studiorum officiorumque. Quod si addimus illud quoque,
change of zealous duties. (50.) But if we add this also,

quod potest recte addi — esse nihil quod tam alliciat et
which may rightly be added—that there is nothing which so allures and

tam attrahat ullam rem, ad se quam similitudo ad amicitiam;
so attracts any thing, to itself as likeness does to friendship;

profecto, concedetur esse verum ut boni diligant bonos, ad-
 then, indeed, it will be allowed to be true that the good love the good, and
 sciscantque sibi, quasi, conjunctos propinquitae
 attach to themselves, as it were, those who are united by ties of kinship
 atque natura. Enim est nihil appetentius, nihil rapacius
 and nature. For there is nothing more eager, nothing more greedy after
 similitum sui quam natura. Quamobrem hoc, quidem, Fanni
 objects like itself than nature. Wherefore this, indeed, Fannius
 et Scævola, constat, ut opinor, bonis esse quasi
 and Scævola, is established, as I think, that for good men there is a kind
 necessariam benevolentiam inter bonos; qui est fons amici-
 of inevitable goodwill amongst the good; and this is a spring of friend-
 tiæ constitutus a natura. Sed eadem bonitas pertinet ad multi-
 ship ordained by nature. But the same goodness extends to the
 tudinem etiam. Enim virtus est non inhumana, neque immunis,
 masses also. For virtue is not unkindly, or inactive,
 neque superba; etiam, quæ soleat tueri universos populos, con-
 or proud; since, indeed, it is wont to protect whole nations, and
 sulereque eis optime; quod profecto non faceret, si
 to consult for their best interests; which it certainly would not do, if
 abhorreret a caritate vulgi. Atque, etiam, qui
 it recoiled from the affection of the commons. (51.) And, indeed, those who
 fingunt amicitias causa utilitatis videntur mihi, quidem,
 form friendships for the sake of advantage seem to me, at any rate,
 tollere amabilissimum nodum amicitiae. Enim non tam
 to take away the most lovable tie of friendship. For it is not so much
 utilitas parta per amicum quam amor ipse amici de-
 advantage obtained through a friend as the love itself of a friend that gives
 lectat; illudque quod profectum est ab amico tum fit jucundum
 pleasure; and that which proceeds from a friend then becomes pleasant
 si profectum est cum studio; tantumque abest
 if it proceeds in company with zeal; and so far is it from being the case
 ut amicitiae colantur propter indigentiam, ut ii qui
 that friendships are cultivated on account of need, that those who are
 præditi opibus et copiis, maximeque virtute—in qua
 endowed with wealth and resources, and most of all with virtue—in which
 est plurimum præsidii—minime indigeant alterius, sint lib-
 there is the greatest protection—and least have need of another, are most
 eralissimi et beneficentissimi. Atque, quidem, haud scio
 generous and liberal. And, indeed, I am rather inclined to

an sit opus nihil umquam omnino deesse amicis. Enim
think that there is need of our never at all being in want of friends. For
 ubi nostra studia viguissent si Scipio numquam eguisset
how could my zeal have thriven if Scipio had never required
 consilio, numquam nostra opera, nec domi nec militiæ? Igitur
my advice, or my help, either at home or abroad? And so
 non amicitia consecuta est utilitatem, sed utilitas amicitiam.
it is not friendship that obtained advantage, but advantage friendship.

CHAPTER XV.

ERGO homines diffuentes deliciis non erunt audiendi.
 (52.) *And so people revelling in luxury will not have to be listened*
 si quando disputabunt de amicitia, quam habent
to if at any time they shall argue on the subject of friendship, which they have
 cognitam nec usu nec ratione. Nam quis est pro
known neither by experience nor in theory. For who is there by
 fidem deum hominumque qui velit neque ut diligat quemquam
the faith of gods and men who wishes neither to love anyone
 nec diligatur ipse ab ullo, circumfluere omnibus copiis atque
nor to be loved himself by any, to brim over with all kinds of resources and
 vivere in omnium rerum abundantia? Enim hæc est vita
to live amid general plenty? For this is a life of
 tyrannorum in qua nimirum potest esse nulla fides, nulla cari-
despots in which of course there can be no good faith, no affec-
 tas, nulla stabilis fiducia benevolentiae, omnia semper
tion, no firm confidence of goodwill. but everything is always full
 suspecta atque sollicita; nullus locus amicitiae.
of suspicion and anxiety; whilst there is no room for friendship. (53.)
 Enim quis diligat aut eum quem metuit, aut eum a quo putat
For who can love either one whom he fears, or one by whom he thinks
 se metui? Tamen coluntur simulatione, duntaxat
that he is feared? And yet such people are courted on pretence, but only
 ad tempus. Quod si ceciderint, forte ut plerumque fit, tum
for a time. But if they fall, perchance as generally happens, then
 intelligitur quam inopes fuerint amicorum. Quod ferunt
it is understood how destitute they were of friends. And this they say that
 Tarquinius dixisse tum exsulantem se intellexisse
Tarquinius declared that at the time when he was in exile he understood

quos fidos amicos habuisset quos infidos, quum posset
who were the faithful friends he had and who the unfaithful, since he could
 jam referre gratiam neutris. Quamquam, miror illa
now requite a favour to neither. (54.) Although, indeed, I wonder with that
 superbia et importunitate si potuit habere quemquam.
pride and churlishness of his that he could have any friend at all.
 Atque ut mores hujus quem dixi potuere non parare
And as the character of this man whom I have mentioned could not procure
 veros amicos, sic opes multorum præpotentium excludunt
real friends, so the wealth of many very influential people precludes
 fideles amicitias. Enim non solum est Fortuna cæca ipsa; sed
faithful friendships. For not only is Fortune blind herself; but she
 etiam plerumque efficit eos quos complexa est cæcos. Itaque illi
also generally makes those whom she embraces blind. And so they
 fere efferuntur fastidio et contumacia; neque potest
are for the most part puffed up with scorn and swelling pride; nor can
 fieri quidquam intolerabilius fortunato insipiente. Atque hoc
there be anything more unbearable than a lucky fool. And this
 quidem, licet videre—eos qui antea fuerunt commodis moribus
indeed, we may see—that those who formerly were people of courteous habits
 immutari imperio, potestate prosperis rebus, veteresque amicitias
are changed by power, authority and prosperity, and old friendships
 sperni ab iis novis indulgeri. Autem quid stultius
are scorned by them and new ones are favoured. (55.) But what is more foolish
 quam quum plurimum possint copiis, facultatibus opibus
than when they have the greatest influence in resources, means and wealth,
 parare cetera quæ parantur pecunia, equos, famu-
to provide all those other things which are procured by money, horses, servants,
 los, egregiam vestem pretiosa vasa, non parare amicos,
fine wardrobes and costly vessels, and not to provide friends, the
 optimam et pulcherrimam suppellectilem vitæ, ita ut dicam? Et
best and most beautiful furniture of life, so to speak? For
 enim, quum parant cetera nesciunt cui
indeed, when they provide all those other things they know not for whom they are
 parent, nec cujus causa laborent—enim quidque is-
providing them, nor on whose account they are toiling—for each of those
 torum est ejus qui vincit viribus, possessio
objects belongs to the one who is superior in strength, whilst the possession of
 amicitiarum manet stabilis et certa sua cuique — ut, etiam si
friendships remains firm and sure to each individual—so that, even if

illa maneant, quæ sunt, quasi, dona fortunæ, tamen
those things should remain, which are, as it were, presents of Fortune, yet
 vita inculta et deserta ab amicis possit non esse jucunda. Sed
a life unrefined and destitute of friends could not be pleasant. But of
 hæc hactenus.
this thus far.

CHAPTER XVI.

AUTEM constituendi qui sint fines et termini, quasi,
 (56.) *But we must determine what are the limits and boundaries, as it were*
 diligendi in amicitia. De quibus video tres sententias
of loving in friendship. And on this point I see that three ideas

ferri, nullam quarum probo — unam ut simus affecti
are put forth, of none of which I approve — one, that we should be disposed
 erga amicos eodem modo quo erga nosmet ipsos; alteram,
towards friends in the same way as towards ourselves; the second,
 ut nostra benevolentia in amicos respondeat pariter
that our goodwill towards our friends should correspond in exactly
 æqualiterque illorum benevolentia erga nos; tertiam, ut quisque
equal ratio to their goodwill toward us; the third, that each
 fiat tanti ab amicis quanti facit se ipse.
should be made of the same account by his friends as he makes himself.

Nulli harum trium sententiarum prorsus assentior. Enim nec
With none of these three ideas do I entirely agree. For neither
 est illa prima vera — ut quisque sit sic animatus in amicum
is that first one correct — that each should be so disposed towards a friend
 quemadmodum in se. Enim quam multa
as he is towards himself. (57.) For how many things there are

quæ numquam faceremus nostra causa facimus causa
which we should never do on our own account that we do for the sake
 amicorum! Precari ab indigno, supplicare, tum
of friends! To make a request of an unworthy person, to entreat, and then
 invehi acerbius in aliquem, insectarique vehementius —
again to inveigh bitterly against anyone, and to attack him violently —

quæ in nostris rebus non fiunt satis honeste
things which in our own case are not done very honourably are done most
 honestissime in amicorum; suntque multæ res in
honourably in the case of our friends; and there are many things in

quibus boni viri detrahunt multa de suis commodis, patiuntur-
which good men draw off much from their own advantages, and suffer it
 que detrabi, ut amici fruantur iis potius quam ipsi.
to be drawn off, that their friends may enjoy them rather than themselves.

Altera sententia est quæ definit amicitiam paribus
 (58.) *The second idea is one which determines friendship by equivalent*
 officiis ac voluntatibus. Hoc, quidem, est vocare amicitiam ad
duties and goodwill. This, indeed, is calling friendship to
 calculos nimis exigue et exiliter, ut sit par
account in a too scanty and meagre manner, that there may be an equal
 ratio acceptorum et datorum. Vera amicia videtur mihi esse
set-off of benefits received and given. True friendship seems to me to be
 ditior et affluentior, nec observare restricte ne reddat
richer and more abundant, and not to look so closely that it do not return
 plus quam acceperit. Enim est neque timendum ne quid
more than it has received. For we must not fear that anything will
 excidat, aut ne quid defluat in terram, aut ne quid plus
be lost, or that anything will fall away to the ground, or that something more

æquo congeratur in amicitiam. Vero ille tertius
than is an equivalent will be accumulated on friendship. (59.) But that third
 finis deterrimus — ut quisque fiat tanti
definition is the worst of all — that each man should be made of the same account
 ab amicis quanti faciat ipse se. Enim sæpe in quibusdam aut
by his friends as he makes himself. For often in certain people either
 animus est abjectior aut spes amplificandæ fortunæ
the spirit is somewhat desponding or the hope of extending their fortune

fractior. Est non igitur amici esse ta-
somewhat weak. It is not therefore the property of a friend to be of the same
 lem in eum qualis ille est in se, sed potius en-
character towards the other as the other is towards him, but rather to strive
 iti et efficere, ut excitet jacentem animum amici,
hard and bring it about, that he may spur on the dejected spirit of his friend,
 inducatque in meliorem spem cogitationemque. Igitur alius
and lead it on to better hopes and thoughts. And so another

finis veræ amicitiae est constituendus, si prius edixero
definition of true friendship must be established, if I shall first have proclaimed
 quid Scipio sit solitus maxime reprehendere. Negabat ullam
what Scipio was wont especially to censure. He said that no
 voce inimiciorem amicitiae potuisse reperiri quam
utterance more hostile to friendship could have been found than that

ejus qui dixisset oportere ita amare ut si aliquando
of the man who had declared that one ought so to love as if at some time
 esset osurus, nec, vero, posse se adduci ut crederet hoc
he were likely to hate, nor, indeed, could he be brought to believe that this
 esse dictum a Biante quemadmodum putaretur, qui esset habitus
was said by Bias as was thought, who had been considered
 sapiens unus e septem, sed esse sententiam cujusdam
a philosopher and one of the seven sages, but it was the idea of some
 impuri aut ambitiosi, aut revocantis omnia ad suam
unscrupulous or ambitious person, or of one drawing off everything to his
 potentiam. Enim quonam modo poterit quisquam esse amicus
own influence. For how can anyone be a friend to
 cui putabit se posse esse inimicum? Quinetiam erit
him to whom he thinks that he may one day be an enemy? Moreover it
 necesse cupere et optare ut amicus peccet quam
will be necessary to desire and wish that his friend may commit faults as
 sæpissime quo det sibi plures ansas, quasi, ad
often as possible in order that he may give him more handles, as it were, of
 reprehendum, autem rursum, angi, dolere
finding fault, but on the other hand, to be vexed, grieved and
 invidere recte factis commodisque amicorum. Quare hoc
jealous at the right actions and benefits of friends. (60.) Wherefore this
 præceptum, quidem, cujuscumque est, valet ad tollendam amici-
maxim, indeed, whosever it is, tends to do away with friend-
 tiam. Illud potius fuit præcipiendum—ut adhiberemus
ship. This rather should have been the rule given—that we should apply
 eam diligentiam in comparandis amicitiis ut ne quando incipere-
such care in acquiring friendships as not at any time to
 mus amare eum quem possemus aliquando odisse. Quinetiam, si
begin to love one whom we might at some future time hate. Moreover, if
 fuisset minus felices in deligendo, Scipio putabat id
we should have been unfortunate in our choice, Scipio thought that this
 ferendum potius quam tempus inimicitiarum cogi-
ought to be borne rather than an occasion of enmity taken into
 tandum.
consideration.

CHAPTER XVII.

IGITUR, arbitror, utendum his finibus—ut quum mores
 (61.) *We must therefore, I think, employ this definition—that when the characters*
 amicorum sint emendati, tum sit inter eos communitas
of friends have been improved, then there is between them a fellowship
 omnium rerum, consiliorum, voluntatum, sine ulla exceptione;
in all things, advice, goodwill, etc., without any exception;
 etiam ut si qua fortuna acciderit ut minus justæ voluntas
also that if by any chance it happens that unjust wishes
 amicorum sint adjuvandæ, in quibus aut eorum caput aut
of friends are to be assisted, in which either their life or
 fama agitur, sit declinandum de via, modo
their reputation is at stake, we must turn aside out of the way, provided that
 summa turpitudine ne sequatur. Enim est quatenus
extreme disgrace does not follow. For there is a point up to which
 venia possit dari amicitiae. Nec, vero, est fama
indulgence can be granted to friendship. Neither, indeed, must reputation
 negligenda, nec oportet existimare benevolentiam civium me-
be overlooked, nor must we think that the goodwill of citizens is a
 diocre telum ad gerendas res; quam est turpe
trifling instrument for carrying on business; and this it is disgraceful
 colligere blanditiis et assentando; virtus quam caritas sequitur
to acquire by flattery and adulation; and virtue which affection follows
 est minime repudianda. Sed sæpe—etenim redeo ad
is by no means to be rejected. (62.) But he often — for I return to
 Stipionem, cujus omnis sermo erat de amicitia—querebatur
Scipio, whose whole discourse was about friendship—used to complain
 quod in omnibus rebus homines essent diligentiores, ut
that in all other matters people were more careful, so that
 quisque dicere posset quot capras et opes haberet, quot
each could tell how many goats and sheep he had, but how many
 amicos haberet posset non dicere; et in parandis illis
friends he had he could not say; and in procuring the former,
 quidem, adhibere curam, in eligendis amicis esse negli-
indeed, people exercised care, but in the choice of friends they are care-
 gentes, habere nec quædam signa, quasi, et notas quibus
less, and they have no tokens, as it were, or marks by which they
 judicarent eos qui essent idonei ad amicitiam. Igitur firmi
can stamp those who are serviceable for friendship. And so people of strong

et stabiles et constantes sunt eligendi. Cujus generis est
and firm and consistent character must be chosen. And of this class there is
 magna penuria, et est sane difficile judicare nisi
a great scarcity, and it is indeed a difficult matter to decide unless you have
 expertum; autem experiendum est in amicitia ipsa; ita
had experience; but the experience must be had in friendship itself; and so
 amicitia præcurrit iudicium tollitque potestatem experiendi.
friendship forestalls judgment and takes away the opportunity of making trial.

Est igitur prudentis sustinere impetum benevolentiae
 (63.) *It is therefore the part of a wise man to restrain the impulse of goodwill*
 sic ut currum, quo utamur amicitiiis sic quasi tentatis
just as in a race, that we may treat friendships in the same way as tried
 equis, periclitatis aliqua parte moribus amicorum. Quidam sæpe
horses, after testing to some degree the character of friends. Some men are often
 perspiciuntur in parva pecunia, quam leves sint; quidam
seen through in small money matters, showing how unstable they are; some
 quos parva potuit non movere cognoscuntur in
whom a small amount could not affect are discerned in the case of a
 magna. Sin, vero aliqui erunt reperti qui existiment sordi-
large amount. But if, indeed, any shall be found who think it

dum præferre pecuniam amicitiae, ubi inveniemus eos qui non
low to prefer money to friendship, where shall we find those who do not
 antepōnant honores, magistratus, imperia potestates opes
prefer honours, offices, military and civil power and wealth
 amicitiae; ut quum hæc sint proposita ex altera parte, ex
to friendship; so that when these are set forth on the one side, and on

altera jus amicitiae, non multo malint illa?
the other side the privilege of friendship, they do not greatly prefer the former?
 Enim natura est imbecilla ad contemnendam potentiam; etiam
For nature is weak in despising influence; and even

si sunt consecuti quam neglecta amicitia arbitrantur
if they have obtained this to the neglect of friendship they think that it
 iri obscuratum quia sit non sine magna causa
will be buried in darkness because it is not without great reason that
 amicitia neglecta. Itaque veræ amicitiae
friendship has been neglected. (64.) And so true friendships are with the

difficillime reperiuntur in iis qui versantur in
greatest difficulty found in the case of those who are engaged in
 honoribus reque publica. Ubi invenias istum qui ante-
office and State matters. For where will you find the man who pre-

ponat amici honorem suo? Quid, ut omittam hæc,
fers his friend's honour to his own? Again, to pass over these points,
 quam graves quam difficiles videntur plerisque societates ca-
how serious and how hard seems to most people a fellowship in
 lamitatum, ad quas est non facile inventu qui descendat?
disasters, to which it is not easy to find anyone to come down?
 Quamquam Ennius recte: 'Certus amicus cernitur in in-
Although Ennius rightly says: 'A reliable friend is seen in an un-
 certa re,' tamen hæc duo convincunt plerosque
reliable matter; yet these two points prove most people guilty
 levitatis et infirmitatis—si aut contemnunt in bonis rebus
of instability and weakness—if they either are scornful in prosper- ity
 aut deserunt in malis.
or turn deserters in adversity.

 CHAPTER XVIII.

IGITUR, qui præstiterit se in utraque re gravem, con-
Anyone, therefore, who shows himself in each case weighty, consis-
 stantem stabilem in amicitia, hunc debemus judicare
tent and firm in friendship, this man we ought to stamp as coming
 ex maxime raro et pæne divino genere hominum. Autem
from an extremely rare and almost divine class of people. (65.) But
 firmamentum ejus stabilitatis constantiæque quam quærimus in
the foundation of that firmness and consistency which we seek in
 amicitia est fides; enim nihil est stabile quod est infidum. Præ-
friendship is good faith; for nothing is firm which is unfaithful. Fur-
 terea, est par simplicem, et communem et consentientem,
ther, it is right that a single-minded, and ordinary, and harmonious man,
 qui moveatur iisdem rebus eligi. Omnia
one who is affected by the same things as ourselves, should be chosen. For all
 quæ pertinent ad fidelitatem. Enim neque potest ingenium
these ingredients belong to faithfulness. For neither can a disposition
 multiplex et tortuosum esse fidum; neque, vero, potest qui
of many folds and turns be faithful; nor, indeed, can one who is
 non movetur iisdem rebus, et consentit natura, esse fidus
not affected by the same things, and of a harmonious nature, be faithful
 aut stabilis. Eodem est addendum ut ne aut delectetur
or firm. To this must be added that he do not either take pleasure in

inferendis criminibus, aut credat oblati—omnia quæ
preferring charges, or believe them when preferred— all which points
 pertinent ad eam constantiam quam jamdudum tracto. Ita
belong to that consistency of which I have long been treating. And so
 illud fit verum quod dixi initio— amicitiam posse non esse nisi
that becomes true which I said at first—that friendship cannot exist except
 inter bonos. Enim est boni viri quem licet eundem
amongst the good. For it is the part of a good man whom we may also
 dicere sapientem tenere hæc duo in amicitia— primum,
call a philosopher to hold fast to these two points in friendship— first,
 ne quid sit fictum neve simulatum; enim vel odisse aperte est
that nothing be feigned or pretended; for even to hate openly is
 magis ingenui quam occultare sententiam fronte;
more the mark of a generous mind than to hide our opinions by our face;
 deinde, non solum repellere criminationes allatas ab ali-
in the second place, not only to rebut accusations brought by any,
 quo, sed ne quidem esse suspiciosum ipsum, semper existimantem
one, but not even to be suspicious ourselves, always thinking
 aliquid violatum esse ab amico. Huc oportet
that some outrage has been committed by a friend. (66). To this must be
 accedat quædam suavitas sermonum atque morum, haudqua-
added a certain pleasantness of speech and manner, a by no means
 quam mediocre condimentum amicitiae. Autem tristitia et
slight seasoning of friendship. But moroseness and
 severitas in omni re— illa quidem habet gravitatem; sed amicitia
sternness in every case—that indeed carries weight; but friendship
 debet esse remissior, et liberior, et dulcior et proclivior ad
ought to be easier, and freer, and pleasanter and more inclined to
 omnen comitatem facilitatemque.
general courtesy and agreeableness.

 CHAPTER XIX.

AUTEM hoc loco existit quædam subdifficilis quæstio:
 (67.) *Now at this point arises a somewhat difficult question:*
 num quando novi amici digni amicitia sint ante-
whether at any time new friends who are worthy of friendship are to be
 ponendi veteribus, ut solemus antepondere teneros vetulis equis.
preferred to old ones, as we are wont to prefer young to old horses.

Dubitatio indigna homine. Enim debent non esse satietates
It is a doubt unworthy of a man. For there ought not to be a surfeit
 amicitiarum sicut aliarum rerum. Quæque veterrimæ, ut ea vina
of friendships as of other matters. All the oldest, as those wines
 quæ ferunt vetustatem, debent esse suavissimæ; illudque est verum
which carry great age, ought to be the sweetest; and that is true
 quod dicitur — multos modios salis esse edendos simul
which is often said—that many bushels of salt must be eaten at the same time

ut munus amicitiae sit expletum. Autem novitates, si afferunt spem ut fructus appareat tamquam in
in order that the office of friendship may be discharged. (68.) But new
 friendships, si afferunt spem ut fructus appareat tamquam in
friendships, if they bring a prospect that fruit will be seen as in
 herbis non fallacibus—illæ, quidem, sunt non repudiandæ;
plants that are not deceptive—they, indeed, are not to be rejected;
 tamen vetustas est conservanda suo loco. Enim
yet the older claims must be preserved in their proper place. For
 maxima est vis vetustatis et consuetudinis. Quin,
very great is the force of age and habit. Nay, in the case of

ipso equo, cujus modo feci mentionem, si nulla res im-
that very horse, of which I just now made mention, if nothing were to
 pediat, est nemo qui non libentius utatur eo
stand in the way, there is no one who does not more readily use the one
 quo consuevit quam intractato et novo. Nec modo
to which he is accustomed than an unbroken and new one. And not only

consuetudo valet in hoc quod est animal, sed etiam in
does habit hold good in this case which is animate, but also in the
 iis quæ sunt inanimata, quum delectemur ip-
case of those things which are inanimate, since we take pleasure in those
 sis locis, etiam montuosis et silvestribus, in quibus sumus
very places, even of mountains and wood, in which we have
 commorati diutius. Sed maximum in amicitia
sojourned for some length of time. (69.) But the chief point in friendship

est superiorem esse parem inferiori. Enim sæpe
is that a superior should be on the same footing as an inferior. For often
 sunt quædam excellentiæ, qualis Scipionis in nostro
there are certain points of excellence, as in the case of Scipio in our
 grege, ita ut dicam. Ille numquam posuit se ante Philo,
flock, so to speak. He never put himself before Philus,
 numquam Rupilio, numquam Mummio, numquam amicis in-
or Rupilius; or Mummius, or any friends of

ferioris ordinis. Vero, colebat fratrem Maximum, egregium
lower rank. Indeed, he used to respect his brother Maximus, an excellent
 virum omnino, nequaquam parem sibi, tamquam superiorem,
man in every way, but by no means equal to him, as if he were superior,
 quod is anteibat ætate, volebatque omnes suos esse
because he preceded him in years, and he wished that all his family should be
 ampliores per se. Quod est faciendum imi-
advanced in honour through him. (70.) And this must be done and
 tandumque omnibus, ut, si sunt consecuti quam præstantiam
copied by all, so that, if they have attained to any excellence
 virtutis, ingenii, fortunæ, impertiant suis,
of virtue, talent or fortune, they may communicate it to their people,
 communicentque cum proximis; ut si sint nati
and share it with their nearest of kin; so that if they are born
 humilibus parentibus, si habeant propinquos imbecilliores vel
of lowly parents, and if they have relations somewhat weak either
 animo vel fortuna, augeant eorum opes sintque honori
in spirit or in fortune, they may increase their resources and be an honour
 et dignitati eis. Ut in Fabulis, qui aliquandiu fuerint
and credit to them. Just as in the Plays, those who for some time have been
 in famulatu propter ignorantiam stirpis et generis, quum
in slavery owing to ignorance about their family and race, when
 sunt cogniti et inventi filii aut Deorum aut regum,
they are recognised and discovered to be sons either of gods or kings, they
 tamen retinent caritatem in pastores quos multos annos
still preserve their affection towards the shepherds whom for many years
 duxerunt esse patres. Quod, quidem, est profecto multo
they have thought to be their fathers. And this, indeed, is certainly much
 magis faciendum in veris certisque patribus. Enim fructus
more to be done in the case of real and undoubted fathers. For the harvest
 ingenii et virtutis, omnisque præstantiæ tum capitur maxi-
of talent and virtue, and all kinds of excellence is then reaped to its fullest
 mus cum confertur in quemque proximum.
extent when it is bestowed on all our nearest ties.

CHAPTER XX.

UT, igitur, ii qui sunt superiores in necessitudine amici-
 (71.) *As, therefore, those who are superior in the bond of friend-*

tiæ conjunctionisque debent se exæquare cum in-
ship and intimacy ought to put themselves on the same level as their
 ferioribus, sic inferiores non dolere se superari a
inferiors, so inferiors ought not to feel hurt that they are surpassed by
 suis aut ingenio, aut fortuna, aut dignitate. Plerique
their friends either in talent, or in fortune, or in rank. Most of
 quorum aut semper queruntur aliquid, aut, etiam, ex-
these people are either always complaining of something, or, indeed, uttering
 probrant; eoque magis si putant se habere quod queant
reproaches; and all the more if they think they have anything that they can
 dicere factum officiose et amice, et cum aliquo labore
say has been done in a dutiful and friendly manner, and with some exertion
 suo. Odiosum genus hominum, sane, exprobrantium
on their part. A hateful class of people, indeed, are those who cast in your
 officia —quæ is in quem sunt collata
teeth the services done by them—which the person on whom they are conferred
 debet meminisse, non qui contulit commemorare.
ought to remember, and not the one who has conferred them to mention. (72.)
 Quamobrem, ut ii qui sunt superiores debent summittere se
Wherefore, as those who are superior ought to lower themselves
 in amicitia; sic quodam modo inferiores extollere. Enim
in friendship; so in some way should inferiors raise themselves. For
 sunt quidam qui faciunt amicitias molestas quum putant
there are some people who make friendships troublesome when they think
 ipsi se contemni—quod non fere contingit, nisi iis
themselves that they are despised—which does not usually happen, save to those
 qui etiam arbitrantur se contemnendos—qui sunt
who also think themselves worthy of contempt—and who are to be
 levandi hac opinione non solum verbis sed etiam opere.
relieved of this idea, not only in words but also in deed. (73.)
 Autem tantumtribuendum cuique primum quantum ipse possis
But so much is to be given to each first as you yourself can
 efficere; deinde, etiam, quantum ille quem diligas atque adjuves
perform; and secondly, indeed, as he whom you love and help
 sustinere. Enim tu possis non, quamvis excellas licet, per-
can bear. For you could not, however superior you may be, ad-
 ducere omnes tuos ad amplissimos honores, ut Scipio
vance all your friends to the highest honours, just as Scipio was
 potuit efficere P. Rupilius consulem, non potuit fratrem Lucium.
able to make Publius Rupilius consul, not so his brother Lucius.

Quod etiam si possis deferre quidvis ad alterum est
But even if you could confer anything whatever on another you must
 tamen videndum quid ille possit sustinere. Omnino, judicandæ
still see what he can bear. (74.) In a word, decision
 sunt amicitiae, et ingeniis et ætatibus jam corrobora-
must be shown in friendship, when both character and age are now estab-
 ratis confirmatisque; nec, si qui ineunte ætate fuerint studiosi
lished and strengthened; nor, if any people in early life have been keen
 venandi aut pilæ, oportet eos habere eos necessarios quos
after hunting or ball play, must they have the same friends as they
 dilexerunt tum præditos eodem studio? enim
loved at that period as being endowed with the same predilection? for in
 isto modo nutrices et pædagogi postulabunt plurimum benevolen-
that way nurses and tutors will demand the most goodwill
 tiæ jure vetustatis—qui quidem sunt non negligendi
on the score of old standing—and they indeed are not to be overlooked
 sed alio quodam modo; aliter amicitiae possunt non
but must be treated in another kind of way; otherwise friendships cannot
 permanere stabiles. Enim dispares mores sequuntur disparia
endure steadfast. For different natures follow different
 studia, quorum dissimilitudo dissociat amicitias; nec ob
pursuits, and their dissimilarity severs friendships; and it is not for
 ullam aliam causam boni possunt non esse amici improbis,
any other reason that good people cannot be friends with the bad,
 improbi bonis, nisi quod distantia inter eos morum studiorum-
or bad with good, except that the difference between them in habits and pursuits
 que est tanta quanta maxime potest esse. Etiam, potest recte
is as great as it possibly can be. (75.) Also, we may rightly
 præcipi in amicitiiis ne quædam intemperata benevolen-
enjoin in the case of friendships that no immoderate goodwill,
 tia, quod sæpe fit, impediat magnas utilitates amicorum.
as very often happens, interfere with the great advantages of friends.
 Enim, ut redeam ad Fabulas, Neoptolemus potuisset non capere
For, to return to the Plays, Neoptolemus could not have taken
 Trojam si voluisset audire Lycomedem, apud quem erat
Troy if he had been willing to listen to Lycomedes, with whom he had
 educatus, impredientem suum iter cum multis lacrimis.
been brought up, when trying to hinder his journey with many tears.
 Et sæpe magnæ res incidunt ut sit discedendum ab amicis;
And often important events happen so that we have to part from friends;

is qui vult impedire quas quod non facile
and he who would stand in the way of these things because he cannot easily
 ferat desiderium, est et infirmus mollisque natura, et, ob eam
endure regret, is both weak and soft by nature, and, for that
 ipsam causam, parum justus in amicitia. Atque in omni re
very reason, unjust in friendship. (76.) And in every case
 est considerandum, et quid postules ab amico et quid
you must take thought, both what you ask of a friend and what you
 patiari impetrari a te.
allow to be obtained from you.

CHAPTER XXI.

EST etiam quædam calamitas, quasi, in dimittendis amicitiiis
There is also a kind of misfortune, as it were, in breaking up friendships
 nonnumquam necessaria; enim jam nostra oratio delabitur a
that is sometimes inevitable; for now our speech turns aside from
 sapientium familiaritatibus ad amicitias vulgares. Vitia
philosophical intimacies to friendships of ordinary people. The faults
 amicorum sæpe erumpunt quum in amicos ipsos tum in alienos;
of friends often break out both on friends themselves and on strangers;
 tamen quorum infamia redundet ad amicos. Tales amicitiae
and yet their disgrace redounds on the friends. Such friendships
 igitur sunt eluendæ remissione usus, et dis-
then are to be done away with by slackening of intimacy, and to be
 suendæ, ut audiui Catonem dicere, magis quam discindendæ;
unstitched, as I have heard Cato say, rather than torn asunder;
 nisi quædam admodum intolerabilis injuria exarserit, ut sit
unless some extremely insufferable wrong has burst out, so that it is
 neque rectum, neque honestum, neque fieri possit ut statim
neither right, nor honourable, nor possible that an immediate
 alienatio disjunctioque sit non facienda. Autem sin
estrangement and separation should not take place. (77.) But if
 quædam commutatio aut morum aut studiorum erit facta, ut
a change either of habits or pursuits shall have arisen, as
 solet fieri, aut dissensio intercesserit in partibus reipublicæ—
is wont to happen, or a variance shall have occurred in the parties of the State—
 enim loquor jam, ut dixi paulo ante, non de sapientium sed
for I speak now, as I said a short time ago, not about philosophical but

communibus amicitiiis— erit cavendum ne non
commonplace friendships—we shall have to take care lest it should not
 solum videantur amicitiae depositae, sed etiam inimicitiae
only appear that friendships have been laid aside, but also that enmities
 susceptae. Enim nihil est turpius quam gerere bellum cum eo
have arisen. For nothing is baser than to wage war with one
 quicum vixeris familiariter. Scipio, ut scitis, re-

moverat se ab amicitia Q. Pompeii meo nomine;
withdrawn himself from the friendship of Quintus Pompeius on my account;
 autem propter dissensionem quæ erat in republica est alienatus
but on account of a division which there was in the State he was estranged

a nostro collega Metello; utrumque egit graviter, auctoritate,
from our colleague Metellus; in each case he acted with dignity, influence,
 et non acerba offensione animi. Quamobrem, primum,

and no bitter annoyance of spirit. (78.) Wherefore, in the first place,

est danda opera, ne qua discidia amicorum fiant; sin ali-

quid tale evenierit, ut amicitiae videantur esse extinctae

thing of the kind occurs, that friendships may seem to have been put out

potius quam oppressae. Vero est cavendum amicitiae ne etiam

rather than crushed. But we must take care that friendships do not also

convertant se in graves inimicitias, ex quibus jurgia, maledicta,

turn into serious enmities, from which quarrels, abuses,

contumeliae gignuntur. Tamen, si quæ erunt tolerabiles sunt

and despitefulness arise. And yet, if these are endurable they must

ferendæ; et hic honos est tribuendus amicitiae veteri —

be borne; and this respect must be paid to a friendship of long standing—

ut is sit in culpa qui faciat injuriam non qui patiat. ut.

that he is at fault who does the wrong and not the one who suffers it.

Omnino, omnium horum vitiorum atque incommodorum est

In short, in all these defects and disadvantages there

una cautio, atque una provisio — ut

is one thing to guard, and one thing to provide against—that people do

ne incipiant diligere nimis cito neve non dignos. Autem

not begin to love too quickly or unworthy objects. (79.) Now

sunt digni amicitia in quibus ipsis inest causa cur

they are worthy of friendship in whose own persons there exists a reason why

diligantur. Rarum genus! et, quidem, omnia præclara

they should be loved. A rare class indeed! and, in truth, all excellent things are

rara ; nec quidquam difficilius quam reperire quod sit perfectum
rare ; nor is anything more difficult than to find that which is perfect
 in suo genere ex omni parte. Sed plerique neque norunt quid-
of its kind on every side. But most people do not know any-
 quam bonum in humanis rebus nisi quod sit fructuosum ; et,
thing good in human life save that which is profitable ; and,

amicos tamquam pecudes, diligunt eos potissimum ex quibus
with friends as with cattle, they love those most from whom
 sperant se esse capturos maximum fructum. Ita carent
they hope that they will derive the greatest profit. (80.) So they miss

illa pulcherrima et maxime naturali amicitia
that very beautiful and most natural friendship which is to be
 expetenda per se et propter se ; nec sunt exemplo ipsi
sought of itself and on account of itself ; nor are they an example to them-

se qualis sit et quanta hæc vis amicitiae. Enim quisque
selves of the character and power of this force of friendship. For everyone
 diligit ipse se non ut exigat aliquam mercedem a se
loves himself not that he may require any recompense from himself
 suæ caritatis, sed quod quisque est per se carus sibi.

for his own affection, but because each man is in himself dear to himself. And
 Nisi quod idem transferetur in amicitiam, verus amicus
unless this same principle is applied to friendship, a true friend
 numquam reperietur ; enim is, quidem, est tamquam alter ego.
will never be found ; for he, indeed, is as it were a second self.

Quod si hoc apparet in bestiis, volucris nantibus,
(81.) But if this is seen in the brute creation, in the flying and swimming
 agrestibus, cicuribus feris, primum, ut

kind, in the creatures of the field both tame and wild, first, that they
 diligant se ipsæ—enim id nascitur pariter cum omni animante —
love themselves— for that is born equally with every living creature—

deinde, ut requirant atque appetant animantes ejusdem
and secondly, that they look out and seek for living creatures of the same
 generis ad quas applicent se —idque faciunt cum desiderio

kind to which they may attach themselves—and this they do with a longing
 et cum quadam similitudine humani amoris—quanto magis

and with a kind of resemblance to human love —how much the more does
 id natura fit in homine, qui et diligit ipse se et
this naturally take place in the case of man, who both loves himself and

anquirit alterum, cujus animum ita misceat cum suo ut
seeks for another, whose spirit he may so blend with his own as
 efficiat pæne unum ex duobus ?

to make almost one being out of two ?

CHAPTER XXII.

SED plerique, perverse, ne dicam impudenter, volunt (82.) *But most people, in a contrary, not to say a shameless manner, wish* habere talem amicum quales possunt non esse ipsi; quæque *to have such a friend as they cannot be themselves; and what they* non ipsi tribuunt amicis desiderant ab iis. Autem, *do not themselves give to their friends they look for from them. Now,* est par primum virum esse bonum ipse, tum quærere *it is right that in the first place a man should be good himself, and then seek* alterum similem sui. In talibus ea stabilitas amicitiae *for another like himself. In such cases that firmness of friendship* quam jamdudum tractamus potest confirmari, quum homines *of which we have long been treating can be established, when people* conjuncti benevolentia, primum, imperabunt iis cupiditatibus *united in goodwill, in the first place, control those desires* quibus ceteri serviunt, deinde, gaudebunt æquitate jux- *to which all others are slaves, and, in the next place, rejoice in fairness and* titiaque, suscipietque omnia alter pro altero, neque unquam *equity, and undertake everything one for the other, and never will* alter postulabit ab altero quidquam nisi honestum et rectum; *either ask of the other anything save what is honourable and right;* neque solum inter se colent ac diligent, sed etiam vere- *and not only will they show mutual respect and love, but also ver-* buntur. Nam tollit maximum ornamentum amicitiae qui tollit *erence. For he takes away the greatest ornament of friendship who takes* verecundiam ex ea. Itaque est perniciosus error in *reverence out of it. (83.) And so it is a fatal mistake in the case* iis qui existimant licentiam omnium libidinum peccatorumque *of those who think that full scope to every lust and sin* patere in amicitia. Amicitia est data a natura adjutrix *is opened up in friendship. Friendship was given by nature as a handmaid* virtutum, non comes vitiorum; ut quoniam virtus posset *to virtue, and not as an associate in vice; so that since virtue could* non pervenire solitaria ad ea quæ sunt summa, pervenire *not arrive by herself at that which is the highest, she might do so* conjuncta et consociata cum altera. Si aut est, aut *in combination and company with another. And if there either is, or* fuit, aut est futura, quæ societas inter quos, eorum comitatus *has been, or shall be, this fellowship between any people, their companionship*

est habendus optimus beatissimusque, ad naturæ summum
must be considered the best and happiest, with a view to nature's highest
 bonum. Hæc, inquam, est societas in qua omnia insunt
good. (84.) This, I say, is the fellowship in which everything is found
 quæ homines putant expetenda — honestas, gloria, tranquillitas
which people think ought to be sought for— honour, fame, peace
 atque jucunditas animi; ut quum hæc adsint vita sit beata,
and happiness of spirit; so that when these are present life is happy,
 et sine his possit non esse. Quum quod sit optimum maxi-
and without these it cannot be so. And since this is the best and most
 mumque, si volumus adipisci id, opera est danda virtuti, sine
important, if we wish to attain to it, help must be given to virtue, without
 qua possumus consequi neque amicitiam neque ullam rem expe-
which we can attain neither friendship nor any object to be
 tendam. Vero ea neglecta, qui arbitrantur se habere
sought after. But if this is overlooked, those who think they have
 amicos, tum denique sentiunt se errasse, quum
friends, then at length perceive that they have made a mistake, when
 aliquis gravis casus cogit experiri. Quocirca—enim
any serious crisis forces them to apply the test. (85.) Wherefore—for
 est dicendum sæpius—quum judicaveris oportet
this must be said frequently—when you have made your decision you must
 diligere, non quum dilexeris judicare. Sed quum in
love, and not when you have loved make your decision. But both in
 multis rebus plectimur negligentia, tum maxime in et
many cases we are punished in the matter of carelessness, and especially in both
 diligendis et colendis amicis; enim utimur præposteris consiliis
the selection and courting of friends; for we adopt inconsistent plans
 et agimus acta, quod vetamur veteri
and keep doing things over again, which we are forbidden to do by the old
 proverbio. Nam implicati citro et ultro, vel diuturno usu
adage. For entangled on this side and that, either in prolonged intercourse
 vel etiam officiis, repente, aliqua offensione exorta, dirum-
or even duties, suddenly, when some occasion of offence arises, we break
 pimus amicitias in medio cursu.
asunder friendships in the midst of their career.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Quo tanta incuria rei maxime necessariæ est
 (86.) *Wherefore so great carelessness in a matter so highly necessary is*
 etiam magis vituperanda. Enim amicitia est una in rebus
even more reprehensible. For friendship is the one thing in the affairs
 humanis de utilitate cujus omnes consentiunt uno ore;
of men about the advantage of which all agree with one consent;
 quamquam virtus ipsa contemnitur a multis, et dicitur esse quæ-
although virtue itself is despised by many, and is said to be a kind
 dam venditatio atque ostentatio. Multi despiciunt divitias
of vaunting and display. Many people look down on riches
 quos contentos parvo tenuis victus cultusque delectat;
whom satisfied with a little humble fare and mode of life delight; and
 honores, vero, cupiditate quorum quidam inflam-
as to posts of honour, indeed, with a desire for which some people are all
 mantur, quam multi ita contemnunt ut existiment
afraid, how many there are who so despise them that they think
 nihil inanius nihil levius! Itemque cetera quæ vi-
nothing more empty or more trivial! And also all other things which seem
 dentur quibusdam admirabilia, sunt permulti qui putent pro
to some people so excellent, there are very many who regard them as
 nihilo! De amicitia omnes, ad unum, idem sentiunt, et
nothing! But about friendship all, to a man, have the same feeling, both
 ii qui contulerunt se ad rempublicam, et ii qui delectan-
those who have betaken themselves to public life, and those who take delight
 tur cognitione rerum doctrinaque, et ii qui gerunt suum
in the knowledge of matters and in learning, and those who carry on their
 negotium otiosi, postremo ii qui tradiderunt se totos
business at their ease, and lastly those who have given themselves up entirely
 voluptatibus— sentiunt sine amicitia vitam esse nullam, si
to pleasure—they all feel that without friendship life is nothing, if
 modo velint vivere ex aliqua parte liberaliter. Enim nescio
only they wish to live in some degree nobly. (87.) For somehow or
 quomodo amicitia serpit per vitas omnium, nec patitur
other friendship creeps through the lives of all, and does not allow
 ullam rationem degendæ ætatis esse expertem sui. Quinetiam, si
any method of passing life to be free from itself. Moreover, if
 quis est ea asperitate et immanitate naturæ ut fugiat atque
anyone is of such harshness and barbarity of nature as to avoid and

oderit congressus hominum, qualem accepimus fuisse Timonem,
hate the society of men, such as we have heard was Timon,
 nescio quem Athenis; tamen is possit non pati non ut anquirat
some man or other at Athens; yet he could not endure not to seek out
 aliquem apud quem evomat virus suæ acerbitalis. Atque hoc
someone on whom to let loose the poison of his bitterness. And this
 maxime judicaretur si quid tale possit contingere—ut
would best be decided if something of this sort could happen — that
 aliquis Deus tolleret nos ex hac frequentia hominum et colloca-
some god should remove us from this society of men and place
 ret uspiam in solitudine, atque ibi suppeditans abundiam et
us somewhere in a desert spot, and there supplying fulness and
 copiam omnium rerum quas natura desiderat, eriperet
abundance of all things that nature longs for, should take from us
 potestatem adspiciendi hominis omnino.
the power of seeing any human being at all.

Quis esset tam ferreus qui posset ferre eam vitam, cuique
Who could be so unfeeling as to be able to endure that life, and from whom
 solitudo non auferret fructum omnium voluptatum?
the solitary state would not take away the enjoyment of all pleasures?

Ergo illud est verum quod audiavi nostros senes commemo-
 (88.) *And so that is true which I have heard our elders relate*
 rare solitum dici a Archyta Tarentino, ut opinor auditum
as accustomed to be said by Archytas of Tarentum, as I think and heard
 ab aliis senibus:—Si quis ascendisset in cœlum perspexissetque
by other old men:— If anyone should mount up to heaven and survey the
 naturam mundi, et pulchritudinem siderum, illam admira-
nature of the universe, and the beauty of the constellations, that marvel
 tionem fore insuavem ei; quæ fuisset jucun-
would be without pleasure for him; whereas it would have been most
 dissima si habuisset aliquem cui narraret. Sic
pleasant if he had had anyone to whom he might relate it. To such extent
 natura amat nihil solitarium, semperque annitur ad aliquod
does nature love nothing lonely, and always leans against some
 admiuiculum tamquam; quod in amicissimo
prop as it were; and this in the case of a very dear friend
 quoque est dulcissimum.
also is most delightful.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SED, quum natura eadem declaret tot signis quid velit,
But, although nature again shows by so many tokens what she wishes,
 anquirat ac desideret, tamen, nescio quomodo obsurdescimus,
seeks and longs after, yet, somehow or other we are deaf, and
 nec audimus ea quæ monemur ab ea. Enim usus
do not hear the warnings which are given us by her. For the intercourse of
 amicitia est varius et multiplex, multæque causæ suspicionum
friendship is diverse and manifold, and many grounds for suspicion and
 offensionumque dantur, quas est sapientis tum
offence are offered, and these it is the mark of a philosopher at one time
 evitare, tum elevare, tum ferre. Illa una
to avoid, at another time to mitigate, and anon to endure. This one ground of
 offensio est sublevanda ut et veritas et fides retineatur
offence must be mitigated so that both truth and good faith may be maintained
 in amicitia; nam amici sunt sæpe monendi et objurgandi; et
in friendship; for friends must often be both advised and rebuked; and
 hæc accipienda amice quum fiunt benevole. Sed,
this must be taken in a friendly manner when it is done with goodwill. (89.) But,
 nescio quomodo, est verum quod meus familiaris dicit in
somehow or other, that is true which my friend says in the
 Andria: 'Obsequium parit amicos veritas odium.' Veritas
Andria: 'Complaisance begets friends and truth begets hatred.' Truth is
 molesta, si, quidem, odium nascitur ex ea, quod est venenum
troublesome, if, indeed, hatred springs from it, which is the bane of
 amicitia; sed obsequi multo molestius, quod indulgendo
friendship; but complaisance is much more troublesome, because by favouring
 peccatis sinit amicum ferri præcipitem; autem maxima
faults it allows a friend to be carried away headlong; but the greatest
 culpa est in eo qui et aspernatur veritatem, et obsequio
fault is in him who both scorns truth, and by complaisance is
 impellitur in fraudem. Igitur, in hac re, omnis ratio et
spurred on to deceit. And so, in this matter, every reflection and
 diligentia est habenda, primum, ut admonitio careat acerbitate,
care must be taken, first, that advice is free from bitterness,
 deinde objurgatio careat contumelia. Autem in obsequio —
and next that reproof is free from insult. But in complaisance—
 quoniam lubenter utimur verbo Terentiano—comitas
since we gladly employ this expression of Terence—courtesy should be

adsit, assentatio, adjutrix vitiorum, amoveatur procul;
present, but flattery, the handmaid of vice, should be kept away at a distance ;
 quæ est non modo digna amico, sed ne quidem libero ; nam
for it is not only not worthy of a friend, but not even of a free-man ; for
 vivitur aliter cum amico aliter cum tyranno.
we live on different terms with a friend to those on which we live with a despot.

Autem cujus aures sunt clausæ veritati, ut nequeat
 (90.) *Now a person whose ears are closed to truth, so that he cannot*
 audire verum ab amico—hujus salus est desperanda.
hear the truth from a friend— that man's welfare must be despaired of.

Enim scitum est illud Catonis, ut multa—
For clever is that saying of Cato, as are many of his sayings—‘ That
 ‘ Acerbos inimicos mereri melius de quibusdam, quam eos amicos
bitter enemies deserve better of some people than those friends
qui videantur dulces ; illos sæpe dicere verum, hos num-
who seem so sweet ; for the former often speak the truth, the latter never.’

quam.’ Atque illud, est absurdum—quod ii qui monentur
And this, indeed, is inconsistent — that those who are advised do
 non capiunt eam molestiam quam debent capere, capiunt
not conceive that annoyance which they ought to conceive but they conceive
 eam qua debent vacare. Enim non anguntur se
that from which they ought to be free. For they are not grieved that they
 peccasse ferunt moleste objurgari ; quod,
have done wrong, but they take it amiss if they are reproved ; whereas, on the
 contra, oportebat dolere delicto gaudere correctione.
other hand, they should have been grieved at the fault and rejoice in the reproof.

CHAPTER XXV.

Ut, igitur, et monere et moneri est proprium veræ
 (91.) *As, therefore, both to give and receive advice is a mark of true*
 amicitiae, et alterum libere non aspere facere,
friendship, and in the one case generous and not harsh administering, and
 alterum patienter non repugnanter accipere, sic est habendum
in the other a meek and not rebellious acceptance, so we must main-
 esse nullam majorem pestem in amicitiis quam adula-
tain that there is no greater plague in friendships than fawn-
 tionem, blanditiam, assentationem. Enim hoc vitium est no-
ing, adulation, and flattering. For this vice must be

tandum quamvis multis nominibus levium atque fallacium
branded by however many terms as belonging to vain and treacherous
 hominum, loquentium omnia ad voluntatem, nihil
people, who say everything with a view to please, and nothing
 ad veritatem. Autem quum est simulatio omnium
with a view to truth. (92.) But not only is pretence in all
 rerum vitiosa—enim tollit iudicium veri adulteratque id—
cases bad — for it takes away the decision of truth and debases it —
 tum maxime repugnat amicitiae; enim delet veritatem,
but also it is most opposed to friendship; for it destroys truth,
 sine qua nomen amicitiae potest non valere. Nam quum vis
without which the name of friendship cannot avail. For since the force
 amicitiae sit in eo—ut unus animus, quasi, fiat ex
of friendship lies in this—that one spirit, as it were, is formed out
 pluribus—qui poterit id fieri si ne quidem in uno quoque
of several —how could that happen if not even in one single person
 animus erit semper unus idemque, sed varius, commutabilis,
the spirit is always one and the same, but different, changeable, and
 multiplex. Enim quid potest esse tam flexibile tam devium
manifold. (93.) For what can be so variable and so shifting
 quam animus ejus qui convertitur, non modo ad sensum ac
as the spirit of him who turns round, not only at the feelings and
 voluntatem alterius, sed etiam vultum atque nutum? 'Quis
wish of another, but even at his beck and nod? 'Does anyone
 negat? Nego. Ait? Aio. Postremo, egomet
say no? I say no. Does anyone say yes? I say yes. In short I
 imperavi mihi assentari omnia,' ut Terentius ait idem;
have ordered myself to be complaisant in everything,' as Terence says again;
 sed ille sub persona Gnathonis; adhibere quod genus
but he speaks in the character of Gnatho; and to employ this class
 amici est omnino levitatis. Autem quum sint
of friend is altogether a mark of inconstancy. (94.) But since there are
 multi similes Gnathonum, superiores loco, fortuna,
many people like these Gnathos, though more exalted in position, means, and
 fama, assentatio horum est molesta quum ad vanitatem
reputation, the complaisance of such men is troublesome when to untruthfulness
 accessit auctoritas. Autem blandus amicus potest tam se-
is added influence. (95.) But a flattering friend can be as easily
 cerni et internosci a vero, adhibita diligentia, quam
discerned and distinguished from a true one, if you apply proper care, as

omnia fucata et simulata a sinceris atque veris.
any dyed or counterfeited colour from those that are genuine and true.

Concio, quæ constat ex imperitissimis, ta-
And a general assembly, which is composed of the most ignorant people, is never-
men solet judicare quid intersit inter popularem—id est,
theless wont to decide what is the difference between a popular—that is,
assentatorem et levem civem—et constantem, severum, et
a flattering and inconstant citizen—and one who is consistent, serious, and
 gravem.

Quibus blanditiis C. Papirius nuper influebat
of weight. (96.) With what soft words did Caius Papirius lately steal
 in aures contionis, quum ferret Legem de reficiendis
into the ears of the assembly, when he proposed his measure for re-electing

Tribunis Plebis. Nos dissuasimus; sed nihil de
the Tribunes of the Plebs. I spoke against it; but I will say nothing of
 me, libentius dicam de Scipione. Quanta immortales
myself, but will more willingly speak of Scipio. How great ye immortal

Dii fuit gravitas, quanta dignitas in oratione! Ut fa-
gods was his weight, how great the dignity in his speech! So that you might
 cile diceret ducem Romani populi. Sed affuistis, et
easily call him the leader of the Roman people. But you were present, and
 oratio est in manibus. Itaque popularis lex est repudiata
his speech is in our hands. And so a popular measure was rejected

populi suffragiis. Atque ut redeam ad me, meministis, con-
by the people's votes. And to return to myself, you remember, in the

sulibus Q. Maximo, Scipionis fratre, et L. Mancino, quam
consulship of Quintus Maximus, Scipio's brother, and Lucius Mancinus, how
 popularis de Sacerdotiis lex C. Licinii Crassi videbatur?
popular the priesthood Bill of Caius Licinius Crassus appeared?

Enim cooptatio collegiorum transferebatur ad beneficium po-
For the election of the guilds was to be handed over to the favour of the
 puli. Atque is primus instituit agere cum populo
people. And he was the first to introduce the practice of treating with the people

versus in forum; tamen religio immortalium deorum
with his face towards the Forum; yet the sanctity of the immortal gods
 nobis defendentibus facile vincebat illius vendibilem orationem.
under my defence easily prevailed over his popular speech.

Atque id est factum me prætore, quinquennio antequam sum
And this was done in my prætorship, five years before I was
 factus consul. Ita illa causa est defensa re magis quam
appointed consul. So that cause was defended by actual fact rather than
 auctoritate.
by influence.

CHAPTER XXVI.

QUOD si in scena—id est, in concione in qua est plurimum loci rebus fictis et adumbratis—verum valet, tamen (97.) *But if on the stage—that is, in the assembly in which there is very much room for counterfeit and fiction — truth prevails, in spite of all (si modo id est patefactum et illustratum), quid oportet fieri in (if only it is revealed and made clear), what must be the case in amicitia, quæ perpenditur tota veritate? In qua, nisi friendship, which is estimated entirely by truth? And in this, unless you videas apertum pectus, ut dicitur, ostendasque tuum, could see an open heart, as the saying is, and show one on your side, you habeas nihil fidum, nihil exploratum; ne quidem amare would have no good faith, and no certainty; you could not even love aut amari, quum ignores quam fiat vere. Quam-or be loved, since you would not know how far it was done with truth. Al-quam ista assentatio, quamvis pernicioosa sit, potest tamen nocere though that flattery, however injurious it may be, can nevertheless hurt nemini nisi ei qui recipit eam atque delectatur ea. Ita no one excepting him who welcomes it and takes pleasure in it. And so it fit ut is maxime patefaciat suas aures assentatoribus qui happens that he most readily opens his ears to the flatterers who assentetur sibi ipse et maxime delectet se ipse. Virtus est flatters himself and is most pleased with himself. (98.) Virtue is omnino sui amans; enim novit se ipsa optime intelligitque quam altogether a self-lover; for it knows itself best and understands how amabilis sit; autem ego nunc loquor non de virtute sed de loveable it is; but I am now speaking not about virtue but about opinione virtutis. Enim virtute ipsa non tam multi the idea of virtue. For with virtue itself there are not so many people volunt esse præditi quam videri. Assentatio delectat hos; who wish to be endowed as to seem so. Flattery delights these people; quum sermo fictus ad ipsorum voluntatem adhibetur, and when a discourse framed according to their own wishes is applied, putant illam vanam orationem esse testimonium suarum they think that that empty speech is an evidence of their laudum. Hæc amicitia igitur est nulla, quum alter non vult merits. This friendship then is of no account, when one does not wish*

audire verum alter est paratus ad mentiendum. Nec
to hear the truth and the other is prepared to speak falsely. Nor would
 assentatio parasitorum in Comœdiis videretur faceta nobis nisi
the flattery of the parasites in the Comedies seem humorous to us unless
 milites essent gloriosi. 'Vero Thais agere mihi magnas
soldiers were vain-boasting. 'Does, then, Thais give me great
 gratias?' Erat satis respondere, 'Magnas,' inquit, 'Ingentes.'
thanks?' It were sufficient to answer, 'Great,' but he says, 'Immense.'
 Assentator semper auget id quod is ad cuius voluntatem
A flatterer always exaggerates that which he for whose pleasure the word
 dicitur vult esse magnum. Quamobrem, quamvis ista blanda
is spoken wishes to be magnified. (99.) Wherefore, although that smooth-tongued
 vanitas valeat apud eos qui ipsi allectant et invitant illam,
vanity prevails among those who themselves entice and allure it,
 tamen etiam graviores constantioresque sunt admonendi ut
yet even more serious and more consistent people must be warned to
 animadvertant ne capiantur callida assentatione. Enim aperte
take care not to be caught by cunning flattery. For an open
 adulantem nemo non videt, nisi qui est admodum
flatterer anyone can see through, except a person who is exceedingly
 excors; est studiose cavendum ille callidus et
dull; but we must take the most zealous care that the cunning and
 occultus ne insinuet se. Enim, nec facillime
secret flatterer does not steal into our hearts. For, indeed, he is not very easily
 cognoscitur, quippe qui sæpe assentetur etiam adversando, et
recognised, since he often flatters even by opposition, and whilst
 simulans se litigare, blandiatur, atque ad extremum
pretending that he is quarrelling with us, favours on us, and at last
 det manus, patiaturque se vinci; ut is qui sit
gives in and allows himself to be overcome; so that he who has been
 illusus videatur vidisse plus. Autem quid
played with may appear to have seen more than the other. But what is more
 turpius quam illudi? quod ne accidat est
disgraceful than to be played upon? and that this may not happen we must take
 magis cavendum ut in 'Epiclero':—'Hodie versaris atque
more care as in 'The Heir':—'To day you will have twisted and
 lautissime emunxeris me ante omnes stultos senes Comicos.'
most completely cajoled me above all foolish old men in Comedy.'
 Enim etiam in Fabulis hæc persona improvidorum et credu-
(100.) For even in the Plays this character of careless and credu-

lorum senum est stultissima. Sed, nescio quo pacto,
lous old men is the most foolish of all. But, somehow or other, my
 oratio deflexit ab amicitiis perfectorum hominum— id
speech has turned aside from the friendships of perfect men— that
 est, sapientum— dico de hac sapientia, quæ videtur
is, philosophers—and I am speaking of that philosophy, which seems
 posse cadere in hominem—ad leves amicitias. Quamo-
possible to fall to the lot of man— to commonplace friendships. Where-
 brems redeamus ad illa prima, concludamusque aliquando
fore let us return to those first points, and let us finish at length
 ea ipsa.
those particulars.

CHAPTER XXVII.

VIRTUS, virtus, inquam, C. Fanni, et tu, Q. Muci,
It is virtue, virtue, I say, Caius Fannius, and you, Quintius Mucius,
 et conciliat et conservat amicitias. Enim in ea est conven-
which both cements and preserves friendships. For in it lies a fit-
 ientia rerum, in ea stabilitas, in ea constantia. Quum quæ extulit
ness of things, in it is firmness, and also consistency. And when it raises
 se, et ostendit suum lumen, et aspexit agnovitque idem in
itself, and displays its light, and beholds and recognises similarity in
 alio, ad id se admovet, accipitque vicissim illud quod
another, to that similarity it advances, and receives in turn what
 est in altero; ex quo exardescit eorum, sive
is in that other; and herefrom there blazes forth their mutual feeling, whether
 amor sive amicitia. Enim utrumque est dictum ab amando;
you call it love or friendship. For both terms are named from loving;
 autem amare est nihil aliud nisi diligere eum ipsum quem
now to love is nothing else than to care for that very person whom
 ames, quæsitâ nulla indigentia nulla utilitate. Tamen quæ
you love, looking for neither want nor advantage. And yet this latter
 ipsa efflorescit ex amicitia, etiam si tu sis minus secutus
naturally blossoms forth out of friendship, even if you have not followed
 eam. Hac benevolentia, nos adolescentes
after it. (101.) With such feeling of good-will, we in early manhood

dileximus illos senes, L. Paulum, M. Catonem, C. Gallum,
loved those old men, Lucius Paulius, Marcus Cato, Caius Gallus,
 P. Nasicam, Ti. Gracchum, nostri Scipionis socerum.
Publius Nasica, and Tiberius Gracchus, our friend Scipio's father-in-law.

Hæc elucet etiam magis inter æquales, ut,
And this gleams forth even more among those of the same age, as, for instance,
 inter me et Scipionem, L. Furium, P. Rupilium, Sp.
between myself and Scipio, Lucius Furius, Publius Rupilius, and Spurius,
 Mummium. Vicissim, autem, senes acquiescimus in caritate
Mummius. In turn, moreover, we old men take pleasure in the affection
 adolescentium, ut in vestra ut in Q. Tuberonis;
of the young, as in that of yourselves and of Quintus Tuberus; and,

equidem, etiam admodum delector familiaritate adolescentis
indeed, I find a very excessive pleasure in the intimacy of the young man
 P. Rutili, A. Virginii. Quoniamque ratio nostræ vitæ
Publius Rutilius, and Aulus Virginius. And since the plan of our life
 naturæque est ita comparata ut alia ætas oriatur ex alia, est,
and nature is so arranged that one age springs from another, it is,
 quidem, maxime optandum ut possis pervenire ad calcem, ut
indeed, most greatly to be desired that you may arrive at the goal, as

dicitur, cum iisdem æqualibus quibus cum sis emissus,
the saying is, with those same contemporaries with whom you set out,
 tamquam, e carceribus. Sed quoniam res humanæ
as it were, from the starting-post. (102.) But since the affairs of men

sunt fragiles caducæque, aliqui sunt semper anquirendi quos
are frail and fleeting, some persons must always be sought whom
 diligamus, et a quibus diligamur; enim caritate benevo-
we may love, and by whom we may be loved in turn; for if affection and
 lentiaque sublata, omnis jucunditas est sublata e vita. Mihi,
good-will are taken away, all pleasure is taken out of life. To me,

quidem, Scipio—quamquam est ereptus subito—tamen
indeed, Scipio—although he was snatched away suddenly—nevertheless
 vivit semperque vivet; enim virtutem illius viri
lives and always will live; for it was the virtue of that great man
 amavi; quæ est non extincta. Nec versatur ante
that I loved; and this has not been destroyed. Nor does it move before
 oculos mihi soli, qui semper habui illam in manibus, sed
the eyes of myself alone, who have always had it close to hand, but
 etiam posteris erit clara et insignis. Nemo umquam sus-
even in future ages it will be renowned and famous. No one will ever con-

cipiet majora animo aut spe qui non putet illius
ceive greater projects in spirit or hope without thinking that that man's
 memoriam atque imaginem proponendam. Equidem, ex
memory and picture must be set before him. (103.) Indeed, of
 omnibus rebus quas aut fortuna aut natura dedit mihi, habeo
all things which either fortune or nature has given me, I have
 nihil quod possim comparare cum Scipionis amicitia. In hac
nothing that I can compare with Scipio's friendship. In this
 fuit consensus de republica, in hac consilium privatarum
consisted my agreement on State matters, in this the plans of my private
 rerum, in eadem requies, plena oblectationis. Numquam offendi
life, in this again my repose, so full of delight. Never did I offend
 illum, ne quidem minima re, quod, quidem, senserim;
him, not even in the slightest matter, as far, indeed, as I could perceive;
 nihil audiavi ipse ex eo quod nollem. Erat una domus
nothing did I hear myself from him which I disliked. We had one home and
 idem victus, isque communis; neque solum mili-
the same manner of life, and that shared by both; and not only our military
 tia, sed etiam peregrinationes rusticationesque com-
service, but also our travels and our country sojourns were taken
 munes. Nam quid ego dicam de studiis semper
together. (104.) For why should I speak about our pursuits of always
 cognoscendi atque discendi aliquid, in quibus contrivimus omne
finding out and learning something, in which we spent all
 otiosum tempus, remoti ab oculis populi? Si recordatio
our leisure time, far away from the eyes of the world. And if the recollection
 et memoria quarum rerum occidisset una cum illo,
and memory of these things had died at the same time with him,
 possem nullo modo ferre desiderium conjunctissimi atque
I could in no way endure the regret for that most friendly and
 amantissimi viri. Sed illa sunt nec extincta; potiusque aluntur
loving man. But they have not died; they are rather fostered
 et augentur cogitatione et memoria; et si essem plane orbatus
and increased by thought and memory; and if I were entirely bereft
 illis, tamen ætas ipsa afferret mihi magnum solatium; enim jam
of them, yet age itself would bring me great comfort; for now
 possum non diutius esse in hoc desiderio. Autem omnia
I cannot much longer abide in this regret But everything that
 brevia debent esse tolerabilia, etiam si sunt magna. Hæc
is short-lived ought to be endurable, even if it is great. This is

habui quæ dicerem de amicitia. Autem hortor vos ut ita
what I had to say about friendship. But I urge you to give such
locetis virtutem— sine qua amicitia potest non esse—ut putetis
a position to virtue —without which friendship cannot exist—as to think

excepta ea nihil præstabilius amicitia.
that with the exception of it nothing is more excellent than friendship.

CICERONIS ORATIO PRO T. ANNIO MILONE.

I. Etsi vereor, iudices, ne sit turpe incipientem
Although I fear, judges, that it is discreditable for a man beginning
dicere pro fortissimo viro timere, minimeque
to speak in defence of a very brave man to feel terror, and though it is by no means
deceat, quum T. Annius ipse magis perturbetur de
becoming, at a time when T. Annius Milo himself is more disturbed for
salute reipublicæ quam de sua, me non posse afferre ad ejus
the safety of the state than for his own, that I, too, cannot bring to his
causam parem magnitudinem animi, tamen hæc nova forma novi
cause a similar greatness of mind, still this new form of a new
judicii terret oculos, qui, quocunque inciderint,
manner of trial alarms my eyes, which, in whatever direction they fall,
requirunt consuetudinem fori et pristinum morem judiciorum.
miss the routine of the forum, and the ancient practice of trials.
Enim vester consessus est non cinctus corona, ut solebat;
For your assembly is not surrounded by a circle of spectators as usual;
sumus non stipati usitata frequentia. Illa præsidia quæ cernitis
we are not attended by our customary suite. Those guards which you behold
pro omnibus templis, etsi sunt collocata contra vim,
in front of all the temples, although they are stationed there to-repel violence,
non tamen afferunt aliquid oratori; ut in foro
do not, however, give any support to an orator; so that even in the forum
et in judicio, quanquam sumus sæpti salutaribus et necessariis
and in the court itself, though we are fenced-in with protective and necessary
præsidiiis, tamen ne possimus quidem non timere sine aliquo
defences, we still cannot even be devoid of fear without some
timore. Si putarem quæ opposita Miloni, cederem
fear. If I thought these facts adverse to Milo, I should give-way to the

tempori, judices, nec inter tantam armorum vim existimarem
occasion, judges, nor, amidst such an armed force, should I think that
esse locum orationi. Sed consilium Cn. Pompeii,
there was any opening for an oration. But the prudence of Cn. Pompeius,
sapientissimi et justissimi viri, recreat et reficit me, qui profecto
a most wise and just man, cheers and reassures me, who certainly
putaret nec suæ justitiæ tradere telis
would think it neither consistent-with-his-justice to deliver up to the weapons
militum eundem quem tradidisset reum
of the soldiers the very man whom he had submitted as an accused person
sententiis judicum, nec sapientiæ armare
to the decision of the judges, nor consistent with his wisdom to arm
temeritatem concitatæ multitudinis publica auctoritate. Quam-
the rashness of an excited multitude with public authority. Where-
obrem illa arma, centuriones, cohortes denuntiant non periculum
fore those arms, centurions, and cohorts announce not danger
nobis sed præsidium; neque solum hortantur-ut-simus quieto sed
to us but protection; and do not merely bid us be of calm but
etiam ut simus magno animo; pollicentur neque modo auxilium
even to be of courageous hearts; and they promise not only support
meæ defensionis sed etiam silentium. Vero reliqua multitudo,
to my defence but also silence. Now the rest of the multitude,
quæ est quidem civium, est tota nostra; neque quisquam
which is in truth composed of citizens, is entirely ours; nor is there any one
eorum quos videtis intuentes undique unde aliqua pars fori
of all those whom you see gazing from all sides from which any part of the forum
potest adspici, et expectantes exitum hujus judicii, quum favet
can be seen, and awaiting the result of this trial, who, while he favours
virtuti Milonis, non putat hodierno die decertari de
the virtue of Milo, does not think that to-day a contest is going on affecting
se, de liberis, de patria, de fortunis.
his own interests, those of his children, his country, and his property.

II. Unum genus est adversum infestumque nobis,

One class there is, opposed and hostile to us, consisting
eorum quos furor P. Clodii pavit rapinis, et incendiis,
of those whom the madness of P. Clodius has fed on rapine, incendiary fires,
et omnibus publicis exitiis; qui etiam hesternæ concione
and every kind of public outrage; who, too, in yesterday's assembly

sunt incitati voce ut præirent vobis quid judicaretis.
were exhorted by their cries to dictate to you what you were to decide.

Clamor quorum, si qui forte fuerit, debebit
The clamour of these men, if any such clamour should be raised, ought

admonere vos ut retineatis civem eum qui semper neglexit
rather to warn you to retain as a citizen the man who has always slighted

illud genus hominum que maximos clamores, pro vestra salute.
that class of men and their loudest cries, in-defence-of your safety.

Quamobrem, judices, adeste animis, et deponite timorem, si
Wherefore, judges, be of good courage, and lay aside all alarm, if

habetis quem : nam si unquam potestas judicandi de bonis et fortibus
you feel any : for if ever authority to decide about good and brave

viris, si unquam de civibus meritis bene, fuit
men, if ever about citizens who had deserved well of their country, has been

vobis ; denique, si unquam locus est datus delectis
entrusted to you ; in short, if ever an opportunity has been given to chosen

viris, amplissimorum ordinum ut declararent re et sententiis
men, of the most honourable ranks to show by deeds and resolutions

sua studia erga bonos et fortes cives quæ sæpe significassent
their feelings towards good and brave citizens which they had so often declared

vultu et verbis ; eam omnem potestatem habetis profecto hoc
by looks and words ; such full authority you have certainly at this

tempore, ut statuatis utrum nos, qui semper fuimus
moment, so that you can determine whether we, who have always been utterly-

dediti vestræ auctoritati, semper lugeamus miseri ; an,
devoted to your authority, are ever to mourn in misery, or whether, having

diu vexati a perditissimis civibus, aliquando recreemur
been long harassed by most abandoned citizens, we shall at last be restored

per vos, ac per vestram fidem, virtutem, sapientiamque. Enim,
by you, and by your loyalty, virtue, and wisdom. For,

judices, quid potest dici aut fingi laboriosius nobis duobus ?
judges, what can be described or conceived more full of toil than we two are ?

Quid magis sollicitum, magis exercitum ? qui, adducti ad
What more anxious, more troubled ? who, induced to work for

republicam spe amplissimorum præmiorum, non possumus
the state by the hope of most ample rewards, yet cannot

carere metu crudelissimorum suppliciorum. Equidem
be free from the fear of most cruel punishments. I, indeed, have

semper putavi cæteras tempestates et procillas, duntaxat in
always thought that the other storms and tempests, at least those on

illis fluctibus concionum, semper esse subeundas a
the stormy billows of public assemblies, had always to be encountered by
 Milone, quia semper senserat pro bonis
Milo, because he had always entertained sentiments in-favour-of the good
 contra malos; vero in iudicio et in eo consilio in
in opposition to the bad; but in a court-of-justice, and in that council in
 quo amplissimi viri ex omnibus ordinibus iudicarent,
which most distinguished men of all ranks sat in judgment,
 nunquam existimavi inimicos Milonis habituros esse ullam
I never imagined that the enemies of Milo could have any
 spem non modo ad extinguendam salutem, sed etiam infringendam
hopes, we will not say of injuring his safety, but even of diminishing
 gloriam per tales viros. Quanquam, in hac causa, iudices,
his glory by the help of such men. However, in this cause, judges,
 non abutemur tribunatu T. Annii, omnibusque rebus
we will not unfairly use the tribuneship of T. Annius, and all the actions
 gestis pro salute reipublicæ, ad defensionem hujus
which he has performed for the safety of the republic, for the confutation of this
 criminis; nisi videritis oculis insidias factas a
charge; unless you see with your own eyes that a plot was formed by
 Clodio Miloni; nec deprecaturi ut condonetis nobis
Clodius against Milo; nor do we intend to entreat you to pardon us
 hoc crimen propter multa præclara merita in reipublicam,
this crime in consideration of many distinguished services to the state,
 nec postulaturi ut, si mors P. Clodii fuerit vestra salus,
nor shall we demand that, if the death of P. Clodius proved your safety,
 idcirco assignetis eam virtuti Milonis, potius
for that reason you should attribute it to the virtue of Milo, rather
 quam felicitati Romani populi. Sin illius insidiæ fuerint
than to the good fortune of the Roman people. But if his plots are proved
 clariores hac luce, tum denique obsecrabo obtestaborque vos,
clearer than the day, then, indeed, I shall entreat and appeal to you,
 iudices, ut, si amisimus cætera, hoc saltem
judges, that, if we have lost everything else, this one privilege at any rate
 relinquatur nobis, ut liceat defendere vitam impune ab
may be spared us, leave to defend our lives with impunity from
 audacia telisque inimicorum.
the audacity and weapons of our enemies.

III. Sed, antequam venio ad eam partem orationis quæ
But, before I come to that part of my speech which
 propria est quæstionis vestræ, ea videntur
properly belongs to the trial which you are conducting, those arguments seem to
 refutanda quæ sunt sæpe jactata, et in senatu ab
demand refutation which have been often repeated, both in the senate by our
 inimicis, et in concione ab improbis, et paulo ante
enemies, and in the assembly of the people by dishonest men, and very lately
 ab accusatoribus; ut, omni errore sublato,
by our prosecutors; so that, everything which might mislead being cleared away
 possitis plane videre rem quæ veniat in iudicium.
you may be able clearly to see the matter which is the subject of the trial.
 Negant esse fas ei qui fateatur
They deny that it is right in the sight of heaven for the man, who confesses that
 hominem esse occisum a se intueri lucem. In qua urbe
another man has been slain by him, any longer to see light. In what city,
 tandem stultissimi homines disputant hoc? Nempe
pray, do these egregious fools advance this argument? Why, in Rome.
 in ea quæ vidit iudicium de capite primum M. Horatii
in a city which saw the trial for life, the first of its kind, of M. Horatius,
 fortissimi viri, qui, civitate nondum libera, tamen est liberatus
a most brave man, who, in a state not yet free, nevertheless was liberated
 comitiis Romani populi, quum fateretur sororem esse
by the assembly of the Roman people, although he owned that his sister had been
 interfectam sua manu. An est quisquam qui ignoret hoc, quum
slain by his hand. Is there anyone who knows not this, that when
 quæretur de occiso homine, factum solere aut omnino
the question is about the killing of a man, the deed is wont either to be entirely
 negari, aut defendi recte et jure factum? Nisi vero existimatis
denied, or else justified as rightly and lawfully done? Unless, indeed, you think

P. Africanum fuisse dementem, qui, quum interrogaretur
that P. Africanus was insane, because, when he was asked with-
 seditiose in concione a C. Carbone, quid sentiret de
seditionary-intentions in a public assembly by C. Carbo, what he thought about
 morte T. Gracchi, responderit videri jure
the death of Tiberius Gracchus, he answered that he seemed to have been justly
 cæsum. Enim neque ille Servilius Ahala, aut P. Nasica,
slain. For neither the notorious Servilius Ahala, nor Publius Nasica,
 aut L. Opimius, aut C. Marius, aut senatus, me
nor Lucius Opimius, nor Caius Marius, nor, indeed, the senate itself, in my

consule, posset haberi non nefarius, si esset nefas
consulship, could have been accounted devoid of guilt, if it were unlawful
 scleratos cives interfici. Itaque, iudices, non sine
for wicked citizens to be put to death. Consequently, judges, not without
 causa doctissimi homines prodiderunt memoriæ etiam
good reason have most learned men handed-down to record even in
 fictis fabulis hoc, eum qui necavisset matrem causa
legendary stories this fact, that the man who had slain his mother for the sake
 ulciscendi patris, sententiis hominum variatis, liberatum
of avenging his father, when the opinions of men differed, was acquitted
 non solum sententia divina, sed etiam sapientissimæ deæ.
not only by the voice of the gods, but also by that of the wisest of goddesses.
 Quod si duodecim tabulæ voluerunt nocturnum furem
Now, if the twelve tables have decided that the night robber
 interfici impune quoquo modo, autem diurnum
may be slain with impunity any way, but the day robber may
 si defenderit se telo, quis
be killed with impunity provided he defended himself with a weapon, who
 est qui putet quoquo modo quis sit interfectus
is there that can think in whatever way a man is killed that the slayer
 puniendum, quum videat aliquando gladium porrigi nobis
ought-to-be-punished, when he sees that sometimes a sword is put into our
 ab legibus ipsis ad occidendum hominem?
hands by the laws themselves for the purpose of killing a man?

IV. Atqui si est ullum tempus hominis jure necandi
But if there is any occasion when a man may be justly killed
 (quæ sunt multa), certe illud est non modo justum
(and there are many such), certainly that occasion is not only a just
 verum etiam necessarium quum illata vis defenditur vi.
but also a necessary one when offered violence is repelled by violence.
 Quum in exercitu C. Marii militaris tribunus, propinquus ejus
When in the army of Caius Marius a military tribune, a relation of that
 imperatoris, eriperet pudicitiam militi, interfectus est ab
commander, offered insult to a soldier, the tribune was slain by
 eo cui afferebat vim. Enim probus adolescens maluit
the man to whom he offered insult. For the virtuous youth preferred
 facere periculose, quam perpeti turpiter; atque ille
to act, though at his peril, rather than to suffer with infamy; and that

summus vir liberavit periculo hunc solutum scelere. Vero
illustrious man freed from danger the youth who was acquitted of crime. But
 quæ injusta nex potest inferri insidiatori et latroni? Quid nostri
what unjust death can be inflicted on the plotter and robber? What do our
 comitatus, quid gladii volunt? quos certe non liceret
retinues, what do our swords mean? these it certainly would not be permitted
 habere, si nullo pacto liceret uti. Est igitur,
to us to have, if in no way it were allowed us to use them. There is then,
 judices, hæc lex, non scripta, sed nata; quam non
judges, this law, not a written one, but a natural law; which we have not
 didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum arripuimus,
learned, or received, or read, but one which we have wrested,
 hausimus, expressimus ex natura ipsa; ad quam sumus non
drawn, and extorted from nature herself; one in which we were not
 docti sed facti, non instituti sed imbuti; ut, si nostra vita
educated but fashioned, not disciplined but steeped; that, if our life
 incidisset in aliquas insidias, si in vim, et in tela aut latronum
encountered any plots or open violence, or weapons either of robbers
 aut inimicorum, omnis ratio expediendæ salutis esset honesta. Enim
or enemies, every means of achieving safety was honourable. For
 leges silent inter arma, nec jubent se
the laws are silent amidst the din of arms, nor do they bid themselves
 expectari, quum injusta pœna sit luenda ei qui
to be waited for, since an unjust penalty must be paid by the man who
 velit expectare, antequam justa sit repetenda: etsi
is inclined to wait, before a just penalty can be exacted: although
 lex ipsa persapienter, et quodammodo tacite, dat
the law itself very wisely, and in a manner tacitly, gives a man
 potestatem defendendi, quæ vetat, non modo hominem
the power of self-defence, which same law forbids, not merely that a man
 occidi, sed vetat esse cum telo causa
should be slain, but also forbids a man to have a weapon about him for the purpose
 occidendi hominis; ut, quum causa, non telum
of killing a man; so that, as the motive, and not the weapon, was the subject
 quæreretur, qui esset usus telo causa defendendi
of the trial, the man who had used the weapon for the purpose of defending
 sui judicaretur non habuisse telum causa
himself would be judged not to have had his weapon about him for the purpose
 occidendi hominis. Quapropter hoc maneat in causa,
of killing a man. Wherefore, let this principle be established in this trial,

judices; enim dubito non quin probaturus sim meam defensionem
judges; for I doubt not that I shall make good this my defence
 vobis, si memineritis id, quod non potestis oblivisci,
to you, if you will remember this point—which you cannot forget—
 insidiatorem posse jure interfici.
that an intending assassin may be lawfully slain.

V. Sequitur illud quod sæpissime dicitur a
Next comes the argument which is continually being brought forward by
 Milonis inimicis, senatum judicasse cædem in qua
Milo's enemies, viz., that the senate has decided that the affray in which
 P. Clodius esset occisus factam esse contra rempublicam.
P. Clodius was slain took place against the interests of the state.
 Vero senatus comprobavit illam, non solum suis sententiis, sed
But the senate showed approval of it, not only by their votes, but
 etiam studiis. Enim quoties illa causa est acta a nobis
also by their devotion. For how often has that cause been pleaded by us
 in senatu! quibus assensionibus universi ordinis! quam
in the senate! with what cordial assent of the whole body! how
 nec tacitis nec occultis! Enim quando frequentissimo senatu
loud and open! For when in a very full senate
 quatuor, aut summum quinque, sunt inventi qui non
were four, or at the most five, men found who did not
 probarent Milonis causam? Illæ intermortuæ conciones hujus
support Milo's cause? Those lifeless assemblies of this
 ambusti tribuni plebis declarant, quibus quotidie invidiose
scorched tribune of the people prove it, in which he daily invidiously
 criminabatur meam potentiam quum diceret senatum non
attacked my power by asserting that the senate did not
 decernere id quod sentiret, sed quod ego vellem.
vote for that which it really thought, but for that which I wished.
 Quæ quidem si est appellanda potentia potius quam aut mediocris
This, indeed, if it is to be called power rather than a moderate
 auctoritas in bonis causis propter magna merita in rempublicam,
influence in righteous causes on account of great services to the state,
 aut nonnulla gratia apud bonos propter hos officiosos labores
or some popularity with the good on account of these dutiful labours
 meos, sane ita appelletur, dummodo nos utamur ea pro
of mine, truly let it be so named, provided we employ it for

salute bonorum contra amentiam perditorum. Vero senatus
the safety of the good to repel the madness of the wicked. But the senate
 putavit hanc quæstionem, etsi est non iniqua, nunquam
thought that this investigation, though it is not an unjust one, ought never

constituendam. Enim erant leges, erant quæstiones vel
to have been started. For there were laws, there were forms of trials either

de cæde vel de vi: nec mors P. Clodii afferebat tantum
for murder or for assault: nor did the death of P. Clodius cause so much

mœrorem ac luctum senatui ut nova quæstio
mourning and sorrow to the senate that some new form of trial

constitueretur. Enim quum potestas decernendi iudicium de
should be appointed. For when the power of ordering a trial with-regard-to

cujus incesto stupro esset erepta senatui, quis potest
Clodius' sacrilegious impurity was withdrawn from the senate, who can

credere senatum putasse novum iudicium constituendum
believe that the senate ever thought that a new form of trial ought to be organized

de ejus interitu? Cur igitur senatus decrevit incendium
about his death? Why then did the senate decide that the burning

curiæ, oppugnationem M. Lepidi ædium, hanc ipsam cædem,
of the senate house, the attack on M. Lepidus's house, this very homicide,

esse factam contra rempublicam? Quia in libera civitate nulla
had taken-place injuriously to the republic? Because in a free state no

vis suscepta inter cives est non contra
violence committed amongst citizens can exist that is not contrary to the interests

rempublicam. Enim illa defensio contra vim est
of the republic. For the defence of one's self against violence is a thing

nunquam optanda, sed est nonnunquam necessaria, nisi vero
never to be wished-for, but it is sometimes necessary, unless, indeed,

ille dies quo Ti. Gracchus est cæsus, aut ille quo Caius,
the day on which Ti. Gracchus was slain, or the day when Caius was killed,

aut quo arma Saturnini, etiamsi e republica,
or the day on which the arms of Saturninus, though for the good of the state,

sunt oppressa, tamen non vulnerarunt rempublicam.
were put down, after-all inflicted-no-wound on the state.

VI. Itaque ego ipse decrevi quum constaret cædem factam

Therefore I myself voted, when it was notorious that homicide had taken

esse in Appia via, non eum, qui defendisset se, fecisse
place on the Appian Road, not that the man who had defended himself had acted

contra rempublicam; sed, quum inessent vis et insidiæ in
against the interests of the republic; but, as there were violence and treachery in

re, reservavi crimen judicio; notavi rem.
the business, I reserved the question of guilt for the judicial trial; I branded the matter.

Quod si senatui licuisset per illum furiosum tribunum perficere
And if the senate had been permitted by that frantic tribune to carry out

quod sentiebat, haberemus nullam novam quæstionem;
its views, we should be holding no novel form of trial like this;

enim senatus decernebat ut tantummodo extra ordinem quæreretur
for the senate voted that only an extraordinary investigation-

veteribus legibus. Divisa est sententia,
should-take-place according to the ancient laws. A division of votes took place,

nescio quo postulante, enim est nihil necesse me præferre
some person or other demanding it, for it is not necessary for me to disclose

omnium flagitia. Sic reliqua auctoritas senatus est
everybody's misdeeds. Thus all the remaining authority of the senate was

sublata emptâ intercessionem. At enim
done away with by this purchased intercession of the tribunes. Yes, but

Cn. Pompeius sua rogatione judicavit et de re et de
Cn. Pompeius by his bill decided both about the act and its

causa, enim tulit de cæde quæ esset facta in
lawfulness, for he brought in a bill about the affray which had occurred in

Appia via in qua P. Clodius esset occisus. Quid ergo
the Appian Road, in which P. Clodius was slain. What then did he

tulit? Nempe ut quæreretur. Porro
bring in? Why, a proposal that an investigation should be held. And pray

quid est quærendum? Sit-ne factum? at constat.
what is to be investigated? Whether it had actually occurred? but that is clear.

A quo? at patet. Igitur vidit
By whom? that too is equally clear. He therefore (Pompeius) saw that

defensionem juris posse suscipi etiam in confessione
defence of right might be undertaken even coupled-with a confession

facti. Qui nisi vidisset, quum videret nos fateri,
of the act. But if he had not perceived, when he saw us confessing,

eum qui fateretur posse absolvi, neque unquam
that a person who confessed might possibly be acquitted, he would never have

jussisset quæri, nec dedisset vobis in
ordered this investigation to be made, nor would he have given to you in

judicando hanc salutarem litteram quam illam tristem. Vero
judging this acquitting letter as well as that condemning one. But

mihi Cn. Pompeius videtur non modo judicasse nihil
to me Cn. Pompeius appears not only to have decided on nothing
 gravior contra Milonem, sed etiam statuisset quid
very unfavourable against Milo, but even to have determined what
 vos oporteret spectare in judicando. Nam qui
principle you ought to keep in view in arriving at a decision. For he who
 non dedit poenam confessioni sed defensionem, si
did not assign a penalty to a confession, but demanded its defence, he, I say
 putavit causam interitus, non interitum,
was of opinion that the motive of the death, and not the mere fact of the death,
 quærendam. Jam profecto dicet ipse,
ought to be investigated. Later on he will certainly tell us himself
 putarit-ne quod fecit sua sponte
whether he thought that that which he did of his own accord was
 tribuendum Publio Clodio an tempori?
a concession due to P. Clodius or to the occasion.

VII. Nobilissimus vir, propugnator senatus, atque quidem
A most distinguished man, a champion of the senate, and, indeed,
 illis temporibus pæne patronus, avunculus nostri judicis hujus,
in those days almost its patron, the uncle of our judge here, that
 fortissimi viri, Marci Catonis, M. Drusus, tribunus plebis, est
most intrepid man, Marcus Cato, Marcus Drusus, a tribune of the people, was
 occisus suæ domi. Populus nihil consultus de
slain in his own house. The people were not consulted at all with-reference-to
 ejus morte, nulla quæstio est decreta a senatu. Accepimus a
his death, no investigation was voted by the senate. We have heard from
 nostris patribus quantum fuisse luctum in hac urbe quum illa vis
our own fathers how great was the grief in this city when that attack
 nocturna esset illata P. Africano, quiescenti suæ domi.
by night was made on P. Africanus, whilst sleeping in his own house.
 Quis tum non gemit? quis non arsit dolore,
Who on that occasion did not groan? who was not fired with indignation,
 ne quidem necessariam mortem ejus quem, si posset fieri,
that not even the natural death of the man whom, if it had been possible,
 omnes cuperent esse immortalem, esse expectatam? Num est
all would have wished to be immortal, had been waited-for? Was
 igitur ulla quæstio de Africani morte lata? Certe
then any investigation concerning Africanus's death instituted? Certainly

nulla. Quid ita? Quia clari non necantur alio
 none. Why so? Because famous men are not murdered with one
 facinore, obscuri alio. Intersit
 degree of guilt, and obscure persons with another. Let distinction be made
 inter dignitatem vitæ summorum atque infimorum; mors
 in the dignity of the life of the highest and the lowest; death,
 quidem illata per scelus teneatur iisdem pœnis et legibus:
 indeed, wrought by crime, must be restrained by the same penalties and laws:
 nisi si qui necaverit patrem consularem erit magis parricide
 unless, if a man has murdered his father, an ex-consul, he is a worse parricide
 quam si quis necaverit humilem, aut mors
 than if one has killed a parent of low degree, or unless the murder
 P. Clodii erit atrocior eo quod sit interfectus
 of P. Clodius is to be considered as aggravated by the fact that he was slain
 in monumentis suorum majorum; enim hoc sæpe dicitur
 amongst the monuments of his ancestors; for this is constantly asserted
 ab istis; proinde quasi ille Appius Cæcus muniverit viam non
 by those men; just as if the great Appius Cæcus made the road not
 qua populus uteretur, sed ubi sui posteri
 for the people to use, but as a place in which his descendants
 latrocinaurentur impune. Itaque in ista eadem
 might practise highway robbery with impunity. Consequently on this same
 Appia via, quum P. Clodius occidisset ornatissimum Romanum
 Appian Road, when P. Clodius slew that most accomplished Roman
 equitem M. Papirium, illud facinus fuit non puniendum; enim
 knight M. Papirius, that crime was not to be punished; for
 homo nobilis in suis monumentis occiderat
 a man of noble birth, surrounded by family monuments, had killed the
 Romanum equitem. Nunc quantas tragœdias nomen
 Roman knight. Now how great are the tragedies that the name
 ejusdem Appiæ viæ excitat! Quæ
 of that same Appian Road awakens in our minds! The street whose name was
 silebatur cruentata cæde honesti atque
 suppressed after it had been stained by the murder of an honourable and
 innocentis viri, eadem nunc crebro usurpatur posteaquam est
 innocent man, the same is now continually mentioned as soon as it has been
 imbuta sanguine latronis et parricidæ. Sed quid ego
 steeped with the blood of a highway robber and parricide. But why do I
 commemorare illa? In templo Castoris servus P. Clodii est
 mention these facts? In the temple of Castor a slave of P. Clodius was

comprehensus, quem ille collocârat ad interficiendum Cn. Pom-
arrested, whom Clodius had posted to murder Cn. Pom-

peium; sica est extorta de manibus confitenti.
peius; the dagger was wrested from the hands of the slave, who confessed all.

Postea Pompeius caruit foro, caruit
After that Pompeius absented himself from the forum, absented himself from

senatu, caruit publico; textit se
the senate, absented himself from all public places; he defended himself by his

janua ac parietibus, non jure legum judiciorumque. Num quæ
door and walls, not by the right of laws and tribunals. Was any

rogatio facta? num quæ nova quæstio decreta est? Atqui, si
motion made? was any new form of investigation voted? But if

res, si vir, si ullum tempus dignum fuit, certe in
any event, if any man, if any occasion merited it, certainly in

illa causa omnia hæc fuerunt summa. Insi-
that particular case all these conditions existed in the highest degree. The

diator erat collocatus in foro, atque in ipso vestibulo senatus.
assassin had posted himself in the forum, and in the very vestibule of the senate.

Mors vero parabatur ei in cujus vita salus
Death, moreover, was being prepared for that man on whose life the safety

civitatis nitebatur; eo tempore porro reipublicæ, quo, si
of the state depended; at that crisis too of the state, when, if

ille unus occidisset, non hæc civitas solum, sed omnes gentes
he alone had fallen, not this state only, but all nations

concidissent. Nisi vero res fuit non punienda,
would have been ruined. Unless, indeed, the crime was not to be punished,

quia est non perfecta; proinde quasi exitus rerum
because it was not accomplished; just as if the results of circumstances

vindicentur, non consilia hominum. Re non
were punished, and not the intentions of men. As the deed was not

perfecta, fuit minus dolendum, sed certe nihilo
accomplished, there was less cause for grief, but certainly there was none

minus puniendum. Quoties, judices, ipse effugi
the less occasion for punishment. How often, judges, have I myself escaped

ex telis P. Clodii, et ex ejus cruentis manibus? ex
from the weapons of P. Clodius, and from his murderous hands? from

quibus, si vel mea fortuna vel reipublicæ non
these, if either my own good fortune or that of the state had not

servasset me, quis tandem tulisset quæstionem de
delivered me, who, pray, would have proposed any investigation concerning
 meo interitu?
my death?

VIII. Sed sumus stulti qui audeamus conferre Drusum, qui
But we are foolish to dare compare Drusus, or
 Africanum, Pompeium, nosmet ipsos cum P. Clodio. Illa
Africanus, or Pompeius, or ourselves with P. Clodius. All those
 fuere tolerabilia. Nemo potest ferre æquo animo
things were endurable. No one can bear with undisturbed mind
 mortem P. Clodii. Senatus luget; equester ordo mœret;
the death of P. Clodius. The senate mourns; the equestrian body laments; the
 tota civitas est confecta senio; municipia
whole state is broken down as with old age; the free towns mourn in
 squalent; coloniae afflictae; denique, ipsi agri
dust and ashes; the colonies are bowed down; finally, the very fields
 desiderant tam beneficum, tam salutarem, tam mansuetum civem.
miss so beneficent, so useful, so benign a citizen.

Ea profecto fuit non causa, fuit non, cur Pompeius
But this certainly was not the cause, it was not, indeed, why Pompey
 censeret quæstionem esse ferendam sibi; sed sapiens
decided that an investigation ought to be proposed by himself; but being a wise
 homo atque præditus alta et quadam divina mente,
man and gifted with a far-seeing and almost divine penetration, he
 vidit multa: illum fuisse sibi inimicum,
perceived many things: that Clodius had been his personal enemy, but
 Milonem familiarem; timuit ne, si ipse gauderet in
Milo his intimate friend; he feared that, if he himself rejoiced in the
 communi letitia omnium, fides gratiæ reconciliatæ
common joy of all, the sincerity of his reconciliation with Clodius
 videretur infirmior. Vidit multa alia etiam
would seem rather questionable. He saw many other things also,
 sed illud maxime, quamvis atrociter ipse tulisset,
but this one thing in particular, that however sternly he proposed
 vos tamen iudicaturos fortiter. Itaque
the investigation, you would still give judgment fearlessly. He therefore
 delegit ipsa lumina e florentissimis ordinibus. Neque
selected the very lights of the foremost orders of the state. Nor

vero, quod nonnulli dictitant, in legendis iudicibus
yet did he, as some are always asserting, in selecting the judges

secrevit meos amicos. Enim justissimus vir neque cogitavit
set-aside my friends. For he, a most just man, never thought of doing
 hoc, neque in legendis bonis viris potuisset assequi id etiam si
this, nor in choosing good men could he have gained that end, even if

cupisset. Enim mea gratia non continetur familiaritatibus,
he had wished it. For my influence is not confined to my intimacies,

quæ non possunt patere late, propterea quod consuetudines
which cannot be spread very widely, because one's-daily-

victus non possunt esse cum multis; sed si quid possumus,
intercourse cannot extend to many persons; but if we have any influence,

possumus ex eo, quod respublica conjunxit nos
we are influential for this reason, because the state has brought us in contact

cum bonis; quum ille legeret optimos viros ex quibus,
with the good; when he was selecting the very best men of these

arbitrareturque id maxime pertinere ad suam fidem,
and he thought that it most closely affected his credit to do so,

potuit non non legere studiosos mei. Vero quod voluit
he could not help selecting men attached to myself. But as for his wishing

maxime te, L. Domiti, præesse huic quæstioni,
most particularly that you, L. Domitius, should preside over this investigation,

quæsit nihil aliud nisi justitiam, gravitatem, humanitatem,
he sought for nothing else but justice, dignity, refinement, and

fidem. Tulit, ut esset necesse consularem,
honesty. He insisted, that it was imperative to have a man of consular

quod, credo, ducebat esse munus prin-
rank as president, because, I suppose, he thought it was the duty of men

cipum resistere et levitati multitudinis et temeritati
of high position to resist both the fickleness of the multitude and the rashness

perditorum. Creavit te potissimum ex
of the profligate. He appointed you in particular from the number of men

consularibus; enim jam, ab adolescentia, dederas
of consular rank; for already, from your early manhood, you had given

maxima documenta quam contemneres insanias populares.
most convincing proofs how you despised the madness of the people.

IX. Quamobrem, iudices, ut aliquando veniamus ad
Wherefore, judges, that we may at last come to the con-

causam crimenque; si omnis confessio facti est
sideration of the cause and the accusation; if all avowal of the deed is
 neque inusitata, neque quidquam est iudicatum a senatu
not unprecedented, and nothing has yet been decided by the senate with-
 de nostra causa aliter ac nos vellemus; et lator ipse
regard-to our cause otherwise than we could wish; and if the proposer himself
 legis, quum esset nulla controversia facti, voluit
of the law, although there was no dispute about the deed, decided that
 esse disceptationem de jure; et iudices electi,
there should be a discussion about its lawfulness; if judges have been chosen
 isque præpositus quæstioni qui disceptet hæc
and a president appointed for the investigation to argue these matters
 juste sapienterque; reliquum est, iudices, ut debeatis jam quærere
justly and wisely; it follows, judges, that you ought now to examine
 nihil aliud nisi uter fecerit
nothing else but this question, which of these two (Milo or Clodius), laid
 insidias utri; quo argumentis videatis quod
a plot against the other; and that you may by actual proofs see this
 facilius, quæso attendite diligenter dum breviter expono vobis
more easily, I pray you attend carefully whilst I briefly explain to you
 rem gestam. Quum P. Clodius statuisset vexare
the affair as it occurred. When P. Clodius had determined to disturb
 rempublicam omni scelere in prætura, videretque
the state by every kind of wickedness during his prætorship, seeing too
 comitia ita tracta esse anno superiore, ut non
that the elections had been so long deferred the year before, that he would not
 posset gerere præturam multos menses; non qui spectaret gradum
be able to hold his prætorship many months; not because he regarded the dignity
 honoris ut cæteri, sed et vellet effugere Lucium
of the office as others do, but because he also wished to escape having Lucius
 Paullum collegam, civem singulari virtute, et quæreret
Paullus for his colleague, a citizen of pre-eminent merit, and because he required
 integrum annum ad dilacerandam rempublicam; subito
a whole year for the purpose of mangling the state; he suddenly
 reliquit suum annum, transtulitque sese in proximum annum, non,
gave up his own year, and transferred himself to the next year, not,
 ut fit, aliqua religione, sed, quod dicebat
as sometimes happens, through some superstitious scruple, but, as he used to say
 ipse, ut haberet plenum atque integrum annum ad gerendam
himself, that he might have a full and entire year for holding

præturam, hoc est, ad evertendam rempublicam. Occurrebat ei
the prætorship, that is, for overthrowing the republic. It occurred to him

suam præturam futuram mancam ac debilem Milone consule:
that his prætorship would be crippled and weak if Milo was consul:

porro, videbat eum fieri consulem summo consensu
moreover, he saw that Milo was being elected consul with the full assent

Romani populi. Contulit se ad ejus competitores, sed
of the Roman people. He addressed himself to Milo's opponents, but

ita ut ipse solus gubernaret petitionem, etiam illis
in such a way that he alone managed the election, even against their

invitis; ut ipse sustineret suis humeris, ut dictitabat, tota
will; so that he bore on his own shoulders, as he used to say, the whole

comitia. Convocabat tribus; interponebat se; conscribebat
comitia. He convoked the tribes; he acted as go-between; he enrolled

novam Collinam, delectu perditissimorum civium.
a new (tribe called the) Colline, by a selection of most profligate citizens.

Quanto ille plura miscebat tanto hic
In proportion as he threw more things into confusion so did the other

magis convalescebat in dies. Ubi homo, paratus ad omne
gain fresh strength day by day. When the fellow, ever ready for every

facinus, vidit fortissimum virum, suum inimicissimum,
possible crime, saw that a most intrepid citizen, his greatest enemy,

certissimum consulem, ubi intellexit esse id declaratum
was a most certain consul, when he perceived that it was a fact declared

non solum sermonibus, sed etiam suffragiis Romani populi,
not only by the voices, but also by the votes of the Roman people,

coepit agere palam, et dicere aperte Milonem occidendum.
he began to act openly, and to say without disguise that Milo must be killed.

Deduxerat ex Apennino agrestes et barbaros
He had brought down from the Apennines a number of rustic barbarians

servos quos videbatis, quibus depopulatus erat publicas
slaves whom you saw, by means of whom he had laid waste the public

silvas Etruriamque. Erat minime obscura res. Etenim
woods and Etruria. It was by no means a secret affair. In fact,

dictitabat palam consulatum posse non eripi
he was in the habit of saying openly that the consulship could not be taken

Miloni, vitam posse. Sæpe significavit hoc in senatu;
from Milo, but his life could. He often hinted this in the senate;

dixit in concione. Quin etiam Favonio,
he actually said it in the public assembly. Moreover, when Favonius,

fortissimo viro, quærenti qua spe fureret
a very brave man, asked him with what hopes he raved as he did whilst
 Milone vivo, respondit triduo aut quatruiduo summum
Milo was alive, he answered that in three days or four at the furthest
 periturum. Quam vocem ejus Favonius statim detulit
he would be dead. And this speech of his Favonius straightway reported
 ad M. Catonem hunc.
to M. Cato here present.

X. Interim, quum Clodius sciret, enim erat neque difficile
In the meantime, as Clodius knew, for it was not a difficult
 scire, Miloni esse solenne iter, legitimum,
thing to ascertain, that Milo had to take his annual journey, prescribed by law,
 necessarium, ante diem XIII. Kalendas Feb., Lanuvium ad
and compulsory, on the twentieth of January, to Lanuvium to
 prodendum flaminem, quod Milo erat dictator Lanuvii, ipse subito
appoint a flamen, because Milo was dictator of Lanuvium, he suddenly
 profectus est Roma pridie, ut collocaret insidias Miloni
started away from Rome the day before, to lay an ambush for Milo
 ante suum fundum, quod intellectum est re; atque profectus est
in front of his farm, as was proved by the event; and he went off
 ita ut relinqueret turbulentam concionem, in qua ejus furor
so as to avoid attending a turbulent assembly, in which his ravings
 desideratus est, quæ habita est illo ipso die; quam
were sadly missed, which meeting was held on that very day; which he would
 nunquam reliquisset nisi voluisset obire locum tempusque
never have given up if he had not desired to attend the place and time
 facinoris. Autem Milo, quum fuisset in senatu eo
(determined on) for his crime. But Milo, as he had been in the senate that
 die quoad senatus dimissus est, venit domum; mutavit calceos et
day till the senate was dismissed, came home; changed his shoes and
 estimenta; commoratus est paulisper, ut fit, dum
dress; waited a while, as is usually the case, whilst
 uxor se comparat; deinde profectus (est) id temporis
his wife gets herself ready; then started at the time
 quum Clodius potuisset jam redire, si quidem venturus
by which Clodius might have already got back, if, in truth, he had intended
 erat Romam eo die. Clodius expeditus, in equo,
to-come to Rome on that day. Clodius, unencumbered, on horseback,

nulla rheda, nullis impedimentis, nullis Græcis comitibus,
with no vehicle, with no baggage, with no Greek companions,
 ut solebat; sine uxore, quod fere nunquam; obviam fit ei :
as he was wont; without his wife, which scarcely ever happened; meets him :
 quum hic insidiator, qui apparasset illud iter ad faciendam
whilst this plotter, who had planned that journey to commit
 cædem, veheretur cum uxore in rheda, pænulatus
murder, was riding with his wife in a carriage, wearing a heavy cloak,
 magno impedimento ac delicato comitatu et muliebri, ancillarum,
with much baggage and a delicate train of women, maid-servants,
 puerorumque. Fit obviam Clodio ante ejus fundum fere
and slaves. He meets Clodius in front of his farm about
 undecima hora, aut non multo secus. Statim complures cum
the eleventh hour, or not far from it. At once several men with
 telis faciunt impetum in hunc de superiore loco. Adversi
weapons make an attack on Milo from the higher ground. The men in front
 occidunt rhedarium; autem quum hic, rejecta pænula,
kill the driver; but when Milo, having flung aside his cloak,
 desiluisset de rheda, defenderetque se acri
had jumped down from his carriage, and was defending himself with resolute
 animo, illi qui erant cum Clodio, eductis gladiis,
courage, the men who were with Clodius, having drawn their swords,
 partim recurrere ad rhedam, ut adorirentur Milonem a tergo;
some run back to the carriage, to attack Milo from behind;
 partim, quod putarent hunc jam interfectum, incipiunt
some, because they thought that he was already slain, begin
 cædere ejus servos qui erant post: partim ex quibus servis, qui
to attack his slaves who were behind: and some of these slaves, who
 fuerunt animo fideli in dominum et præsentī, occisi sunt;
were with hearts faithful to their master and also courageous, were slain;
 partim, quum viderent pugnari ad rhedam,
but others, when they saw the fight going on close by the carriage, when
 prohiberentur succurrere domino, et quum
too they were prevented from helping their master, and when they
 audirent ex Clodii ipso Milonem occisum, et putarent
heard from Clodius' own lips that Milo had been killed, and thought
 revera, servi Milonis—enim dicam aperte,
that it really was so, they, the slaves of Milo—for I will declare it openly,
 non causa derivandi criminis, sed ut
not for the purpose of shifting the guilt on to others, but stating it exactly as

factum est— domino nec imperante, nec sciente, nec
it happened— their master neither ordering it, nor knowing it, nor even
 præsente, fecerunt id quod quisque voluisset suos servos
being present, did that which everyone would have wished his slaves
 facere in tali re.
to do under such circumstances.

XI. Hæc gesta sunt, iudices, ita sicut exposui:
These things took place, judges, exactly as I have related:
 insidiator est superatus; vis victa vi; vel, potius,
the plotter was defeated; violence was repelled by violence; or, rather,
 audacia est oppressa virtute. Dico nihil quid
audacity was crushed by valour. I say nothing (of the advantage) that
 respublica consecuta est, nihil quid vos, nihil quid omnes boni.
the state gained, nothing of all that you, nothing that all good
 Id sane nihil prosit Miloni, qui est
men gained. That consideration certainly cannot serve Milo, who was
 natus hoc fato, ut potuerit ne quidem servare se quin
born with such a destiny that he could not even save himself without
 servaret rempublicam vosque una. Si id posset non
saving the state and you at the same time. If this could not
 fieri jure, habeo nihil quod defendam. Sin ratio
be done lawfully, I have nothing to plead in his defence. But if reason
 præscripsit hoc doctis, et necessitas
has taught the following principle to learned men, just as necessity has
 barbaris, et mos gentibus, et natura ipsa etiam feris belluis,
to barbarians, and custom to nations, and nature itself even to wild animals,
 ut semper propulsarent omnem vim quacunque ope
that they are always to repel all violence by whatever means
 possent a corpore, a capite, a sua vita, non potestis
they can from their bodies, liberties, and their lives, you cannot
 judicare hoc facinus improbum quin judicetis simul
decide that this action was wrong without deciding at the same time
 omnibus qui inciderint in latrones esse pereundum, aut illorum
that all men who fall amongst thieves must perish, either by their
 telis, aut vestris sententiis. Quod si putasset
weapons, or by your verdict. But if Milo had thought this to be
 ita, certe fuisset optabilius Miloni dare
so, it would certainly have been preferable for him to have offered at once

jugulum P. Clodio, petitum non semel ah illo,
his throat to P. Clodius, which had been assailed not only once by him,
 neque tum primum, quam jugulari a vobis quia
nor then for the first time, than for him to be slain by you because he
 non tradidisset se jugulandum illi. Sin
had not first yielded up himself to be slain by Clodius. But if there is
 nemo vestrum sentit ita, illud venit in judicium, non
no one of you who judges thus, the question comes into court, not
 ne sit occisus, quod fatemur, sed jure an
whether he was slain or not, which we admit, but whether legally or
 injuria, quod est sæpe quæsitum in multis causis. Constat
illegally, which point has often been investigated in many causes. It is plain
 insidias esse factas, et id est quod senatus judicavit
that a plot was laid, and that is a thing which the senate has decided
 esse factum contra rempublicam; ab utro sint factæ est
to have been committed against the state; by whom it was laid is
 incertum. De hoc igitur est latum ut
the debatable point. On this point, therefore, it has been ordered that
 quæreretur. Ita et senatus notavit rem, non hominem,
inquiry be held. Consequently, also the senate censured the deed, not the man,
 et Pompeius tulit quæstionem de jure,
and Pompeius has ordered an investigation to inquire into the lawfulness of the
 non de facto.
deed, not about the deed itself.

XII. Num quid aliud venit in judicium, nisi uter
Is then any other point coming into court but this, viz., which
 fecerit insidias utri? Nihil profecto: si hic
of the two laid a plot against the other? None whatever: if Milo plotted
 illi, ut ne sit impune; si ille huic,
against Clodius, he is not to escape with impunity; if Clodius against Milo,
 tum nos solvamus scelere. Quonam pacto igitur potest
then our side must be acquitted of all guilt. In what way then can it be
 probari Clodium fecisse insidias Miloni? Est satis in
proved that Clodius laid a plot against Milo? It is quite enough in
 tam audaci, tam nefaria bellua illa, docere ei
the case of so daring, so impious a monster as he was, to prove that he
 fuisse magnam causam, magnam spem propositam in Milonis
had a powerful motive. great hopes conceived in view of Milo's

morte, magnas utilitates. Itaque illud Cassianum,
death, and also great advantages. Therefore that maxim of Cassius,
 "cui fuerit bono?" valeat in his personis.
"whose was the advantage?" ought to hold good in the case of these parties.

Etsi boni nullo emolumento impelluntur in
For though good men by no advantage whatever are led into
 fraudem, improbi sæpe parvo. Atqui, Milone
dishonesty, wicked men are often by a trifling one. But by Milo's

interfecto, Clodius assequabatur hæc, non modo ut esset
death Clodius was attempting to gain the objects, not only that he should

prætor non eo consule, quo posset facere
be prætor without a man for consul under whom he would be able to commit

nihil sceleris, sed etiam ut esset prætor iis
no wickedness, but also the advantage of being prætor with men

consulibus, quibus, si non adjuvantibus, at certe conniventibus,
for consuls under whom, if not actively helping, still at all events conniving,

speraret se posse eludere in illis cogitatis furoribus;
he hoped to be able to baffle (all opposition) in those contemplated mad schemes

cujus conatus, ut ratiocinabatur ipse, nec cuperent
of his; for his attempts, as he argued to himself, they would not like

reprimere, si possent, quum arbitrarentur se debere
to check, even if they could, as long as they believed that they were indebted

ei tantum beneficium, et si vellent, fortasse
to him for so great a service, and even if they wished to do so, probably

vix possent frangere audaciam sceleratissimi hominis
they would be hardly able to crush the audacity of a consummate villain

jam corroboratam vetustate. An vero vos, iudices, soli
now matured by time. Are you, judges, the only persons who

ignoratis? vos versamini hospites in hac urbe?
are ignorant of this? are you living as mere visitors in this city?

Vestræ aures peregrinantur, neque versantur in hoc
Are your ears away on a pilgrimage, and not conversant with this

pervagato sermone civitatis, leges, si sunt nominandæ
bruiated talk of the city, about the laws, if they are to be called

leges, ac non faces urbis, et pestes reipublicæ,
laws, and not rather firebrands for our city, and plagues for our republic,

quas impositurus fuerit nobis omnibus atque inustus?
which he sought to impose on us all and brand us with?

Exhibe, exhibe, quæso, Sexte Clodi, illud librum vestrarum
Produce, produce, I beg, Sextus Clodius, that copy of your

legum, quod aiunt te eripuisse e domo, et extulisse
laws, which men say that you saved from your house, and bore away
 ex mediis armis, turbaque nocturna, tanquam
from the midst of armed men, from the onset at night, like a second
 Palladium, ut videlicet posses deferre præclarum munus, atque
Palladium, that forsooth you might carry that splendid offering, that
 instrumentum tribunatus, ad aliquem, si esses nactus,
instrument of the tribuneship, to someone, supposing you had secured one,
 qui gereret tribunatum tuo arbitrio; [* divisi
who would discharge his office according to your directions; and [after dividing
 libertinis per omnes tribus, nova lege additurus erat
the freed men amongst all the tribes, by his new law he was going to include
 omnes servos qui morarentur in libertate, ut ipsi
all the slaves who were waiting for full possession of liberty, so that they too
 ferrent suffragia æqualiter cum ingenuis.] An esset ausus
might vote on an equality with freeborn citizens.] Would he have dared
 facere mentionem hujus legis, quam Sextus Clodius gloriatur
to make mention of this law, which Sextus Clodius boasts
 inventam a se, Milone vivo, ne dicam consule?
was devised by him, whilst Milo was alive, not to say whilst consul?
 Omnium nostrum—audeo non dicere totum— Videte
Of all of us—I dare not say all I meant to say—Consider
 quid vitii ea lex habitura fuerit, etiam reprehensio cujus
what taint that law would have proved to have, the very censuring of which
 est periculosa. Et aspexit me illis oculis quibus solebat
is perilous. And he looked at me with that look which he was wont
 tum quum minabatur omnia
to assume at the time when he was launching universal threats against
 omnibus.
everybody.

XIII. Lumen curiæ quippe movet me.

The illuminator of the senate house indeed moves me.

Quid! Sexte, tu putas me, cujus inimicissimum
What! Sextus, do you think that I, whose worst enemy

es punitus etiam multo crudelius quam erat
you have punished with even much more severity than would have been

* A few lines restored by conjecture by Orelli.

meæ humanitatis postulare, iratum tibi? Tu
consistent with my humanity to demand, am angry with you? You
 ejecisti cruentum cadaver P. Clodii domo, tu ejecisti
cast forth the bleeding corpse of P. Clodius out of the house, you turned

in publicum, tu reliquisti spoliatum imaginibus, exequiis,
it into the streets, you left it bereft of images, funeral rites,
 pompa, laudatione, semiustilatum infelicissimis lignis,
of a procession, panegyric, half burnt by most unlucky fuel,
 dilaniandum nocturnis canibus. Quare, etsi fecisti
to be torn asunder by night-prowling curs. Wherefore, though you acted

nefarie, quoniam exprompsisti tuam crudelitatem in meo
unnaturally, still, as you were venting your cruelty on my
 inimico, non possum laudare, certe non debeo irasci.
enemy, though I cannot commend you, surely I ought not to be angry.

Demonstravi, judices, quantum interfuerit Clodii
I have shown you, judges, how important it was to Clodius

Milonem occidi; nunc vicissim convertite animos ad
that Milo should be slain; now, in turn, turn your attention to
 Milonem. Quid intererat Milonis Clodium interfici?

Milo. Pray what advantage was it to Milo that Clodius should be slain?

Quid erat cur Milo, non dicam admitteret,
What reason was there why Milo, I will not say should do such a deed,
 sed optaret? Clodius obstabat Miloni in spe
but even wish it done? Clodius was attempting to thwart Milo in his hopes

consulatus. At fiebat eo
of a consulship. But the latter was winning-his-election though the latter
 repugnante. Immo, vero fiebat magis eo,
opposed him. Nay, he was winning-his-election all the more on that account,
 nec utebatur me meliore suffragatore quam Clodio.
nor did he find in me a better supporter than he did in Clodius.

Memoria Milonis meritorum erga me rempublicamque valebat
The memory of Milo's services to myself and the republic had due influence
 apud vos, judices. Nostræ preces et lacrimæ, quibus tum
with you, judges. Our prayers and tears, by which at the time

sentiebam vos mirifice moveri, valebant, sed timor
I felt that you were wonderfully affected, had influence, but the fear
 impendentium periculorum multo plus valebat. Enim quis
of impending dangers had much more influence. For who

erat civium qui proponeret sibi solutam
was there of all the citizens who could picture to himself an unrestrained

præturam P. Clodii sine maximo metu novarum rerum?
prætorship of P. Clodius without the deepest dread of a revolution?

Autem videbatis fore solutam nisi consul esset
But you perceived that it would be unrestrained unless the consul was

is qui auderet possetque constringere. Quum universus
a man who dared and could restrain it. And as the whole

Romanus populus sentiret Milonem unum esse, quis
of the Roman people felt that Milo alone was the man, who

dubitaret suo suffragio liberare se metu, rempublicam
would hesitate by his vote to free himself from fear and the state from

periculo? At nunc Clodio remoto Miloni enitendum est
danger? But now, as Clodius is out of the way, Milo must strive

usitatis rebus jam ut tueatur suam dignitatem. Illa gloria,
by ordinary means now to preserve his dignity. That glory,

singularis et concessa huic uni, quæ quotidie augebatur
so pre-eminent and conceded to him alone, which was daily increased

frangendis furoribus Clodii, jam cecidit morte
by his baffling the mad schemes of Clodius, has already faded through the death

Clodii. Vos adepti estis ne metueretis quem
of Clodius. You have gained (one advantage), that you are no longer afraid of any

civem. Hic perdidit exercitationem virtutis, suffragationem
citizen. Milo has lost the practising grounds of his valour, his vote-winning

consulatus, perennem fontem suæ gloriæ. Itaque consulatus
for the consulship, the perennial source of his glory. Consequently the consulship

Milonis, qui Clodio vivo poterat non labefactari, mortuo
of Milo, which in Clodius' lifetime could not be shaken, now that he is dead

denique cœptus est tentari. Mors igitur Clodii non modo
has at last begun to be assailed. The death then of Clodius not only

nihil prodest Miloni, sed etiam obest. At odium
is no advantage to Milo, but is actually an obstacle. But, say you, hatred

valuit, iratus fecit, inimicus fecit, fuit ultor
overpowered him, in wrath he did it, as an enemy he did it, he was the avenger

injuriae, punitor sui doloris. Quid si
of his own wrongs, the redresser of his own affronts. What will be said if

hæc fuerunt, non dico majora in Clodio
we argue that these feelings existed, I do not say more powerfully in Clodius

quam in Milone, sed maxima in illo, nulla
than in Milo, but that they were all-powerful in Clodius, and non-existing

in hoc? Quid amplius vultis? enim, præter hoc civile
in Milo? What more would you have? for, setting aside that patriotic

odium quo omnes odimus malos, quid Milo odisset
hatred with which all of us hate bad men, why should Milo hate
 Clodium, segetem ac materiem suæ gloriæ? Erat
Clodius, who was the very harvest and foundation of his glory? There was
 ut ille odisset primum defensorem meæ salutis, deinde
a reason for hating Milo, first as the defender of my safety, then
 vexatorem furoris, domitorem suorum armorum, postremo
the troubler of his mad plots, the conqueror of his arms, and lastly,
 etiam suum accusatorem. Enim Clodius, quoad vixit, fuit
too, his prosecutor. For Clodius, as long as he lived, was
 reus Milonis Plotia lege. Quo animo
liable to prosecution by Milo under the Plotian law. With what feelings,
 tandem creditis illum tyrannum tulisse hoc? quantum
pray, do you suppose that tyrant endured this? how great
 fuisse odium, et quam justum etiam in injusto homine!
must have been his hate, and how natural also in so unnatural a man!

XIV. Reliquum est ut ipsius natura consuetudoque defendat
It remains to let personal disposition and habits defend
 illum, autem hæc eadem coarguant hunc. Clodius nihil
the one, but the same points to help to convict the other. Clodius did nothing
 unquam per vim. Milo omnia per vim. Quid
at any time by violence. Milo accomplished everything by violence. What
 ergo, judices? quum vobis mœrentibus cessi urbe
then is to be said to this, judges? when I to your sorrow left the city
 timui-ne judicium? non servos, non arma, non vim?
was I afraid of a trial, and not of slaves, not of arms, not of violence?
 Quæ igitur justa causa mei restituendi fuisset, nisi
What then must the real cause of my being restored have been, if the cause
 ejiciendi fuisset injusta? Clodius, credo,
of my being driven out had not also been an unjust one? Clodius, I suppose,
 dixerat diem, irrogarat multam,
had named a day for my trial, he had settled the amount of my fine,
 intenderat actionem perduellionis; et videlicet in causa
he had prepared an action for high treason; and I suppose in the cause
 aut mala aut mea, et non
either because it was a bad one or because it was my cause, and not
 præclarissima et vestra, judicium fuit timendum mihi.
a most righteous cause and your cause, the decision was to be dreaded by me.

Nolui meos cives servatos meis consiliis
I was unwilling that my countrymen who had been saved by my counsels
 periculisque objici pro me armis servorum, egentium
and perils should be exposed on my account to the arms of slaves, needy
 civium, et facinorosorum. Enim vidi, vidi hunc ipsum Q. Horten-
citizens, and felons. For I saw, yes I saw, this very Q. Horten-
 sium, lumen et ornamentum reipublicæ, pæne interfici manu
sium, the light and ornament of the state, almost murdered by a hand
 servorum, dum adesset mihi; in qua turba C. Vibienus, senator,
of slaves, whilst pleading for me; in which riot C. Vibienus, a senator,
 optimus vir, quum esset una cum hoc, ita mulcatus est
a most excellent man, whilst in company with Hortensius, was so beaten
 ut amiserit vitam. Quando itaque postea illa sica quam
that he lost his life. When, then, after this did that dagger which
 acceperat a Catilina conquievit? Hæc est intentata nobis;
he had received from Catiline rest? This dagger was aimed at us;
 ego non sum passus vos pro me objici huic; hæc est
I did not allow you on my account to be exposed to it; this dagger has
 insidiata Pompeio; hæc cruentavit istam Appiam,
lain in wait for Pompeius; this dagger stained with blood that Appian Road,
 monumentum sui nominis: hæc, hæc eadem, longo
the monument of his name; this, the same dagger, after a long
 intervallo est conversa in me: nuper quidem, ut scitis,
interval was aimed at me: lately, indeed, as you are aware,
 pæne confecit me ad regiam. Quid Milonis simile?
he all but murdered me close to the palace. What action of Milo's is like this?
 omnis cujus vis semper fuit hæc, ne P. Clodius, quum
all whose violence has ever been but this, not to let Publius Clodius, as
 posset non detrahi in iudicium, teneret civitatem oppressam
he could not be dragged into court, hold the state enslaved
 vi. Si voluisset interficere quem, quantæ
by his violence. And if he had really wished to kill him, what splendid
 occasiones, quoties, quam præclaræ fuerunt! Potuitne,
opportunities, how numerous, how glorious he had! Might he not,
 quum defenderet domum ac penates deos, illo
when he was defending his house and his household gods, when Clodius
 oppugnante, jure ulcisci se? potuitne,
attacked them, have justly avenged himself? might he not have done so,
 egregio cive et fortissimo viro P. Sextio vulnerato?
when that excellent citizen and most intrepid man P. Sextius was wounded?

potuitne, Q. Fabricio, optimo viro, pulso,
might he not, when Q. Fabricius, a most excellent man, was driven away,
 quum ferret legem de meo reditu, crudelissima cæde facta
whilst proposing a bill for my return, a most cruel slaughter being committed
 in foro? potuitne, domo L. Cæcili, L. Cæcili,
in the forum? might he not have done it, when the house of Lucius Cæcilius,
 prætoris justissimi fortissimique, oppugnata? potuitne illo die
a prætor most just and brave, was attacked? might he not on that day
 quum lex de me est lata, quum concursus totius Italiæ, quem
when the law about me was passed, when a concourse from all Italy, whom
 mea salus concitaverat, lubens agnovisset gloriam
(a regard for) my safety had aroused, had spontaneously acknowledged the glory
 illius facti, ut etiam si Milo fecisset id, cuncta civitas
of that deed, so that even if Milo had done it, the whole state
 vindicaret eam gloriam pro sua?
would have claimed the glory of it as its own?

XV. At quod tempus erat! consul, clarissimus et fortissimus
And what an occasion it was! the consul, a most distinguished and brave
 vir, inimicus Clodio, P. Lentulus, ultor illius sceleris, propug-
man, the enemy of Clodius, P. Lentulus, the punisher of that guilty man, the cham-
 nator senatus, defensor vestræ voluntatis, patronus consensus
panion of the senate, the defender of your will, the advocate of the views
 publici, restitutor meæ salutis; septem prætores, octo tribuni
of the public, the restorer of my safety; seven prætors, eight tribunes
 plebis, illius adversarii, mei defensores; Cn. Pompeius, auctor
of the people, his opponents, my defenders; Cn. Pompeius, the originator
 et dux mei reditus, illius hostis, cujus gravissimam et
and leader of my return, Clodius' enemy, whose weighty and
 ornatissimam sententiam de mea salute omnis senatus
elaborate decision on the subject of my safety the whole senate
 secutus est, qui cohortatus est Romanum populum, qui, quum
adopted, who earnestly addressed the Roman people, who, when
 fecit decretum de me Capuæ, ipse dedit signum
he passed a decree concerning me at Capua, in his own person gave signal
 cunctæ Italiæ cupienti et imploranti ejus fidem, ut concurrerent
to all Italy, longing for it, and imploring his protection, to crowd
 Romam ad me restituendum: omnia odia civium tum
to Rome to effect my recall: all the hatred of the citizens then

denique ardebant in illum desiderio mei;
at length burst into flame against him through their desire for me;

qui interemisset quem, tum cogitaretur
and for the man who killed him, then people would have been thinking

non de impunitate ejus, sed de præmiis. Milo tamen
not about the mere impunity of the man, but about his deserts. Milo, however,

continuit se, et vocavit P. Clodium bis in judicium, nunquam
restrained himself and summoned P. Clodius twice to court, never

ad vim. Quid! Milone privato et reo
to a contest of violence. What! when Milo was a private man and a defendant

ad populum, P. Clodio accusatore, quum impetus factus est in
before the people, P. Clodius being prosecutor, when an attack was made on

Cn. Pompeium dicentem pro Milone, non modo quæ occasio
Cn. Pompeius, who was speaking in defence of Milo, not only what a chance

tum, sed etiam causa fuit opprimendi illius! Nuper
then, but also what an excuse presented itself for crushing him! Lately,

vero, quum M. Antonius attulisset omnibus bonis summam
too, when M. Antonius had inspired all good men with high

spem salutis, nobilissimusque adolescens fortissime suscepisset
hopes of safety, when that most noble youth so bravely undertook

gravissimam partem reipublicæ, atque teneret illam belluam,
a most important piece of public duty, and was holding that beast,

declinantem laqueos judicii, jam irretitam, qui
ever slipping out of the snares of a trial, almost fast in his toils, what

locus, quod tempus illud fuit, immortales dii! Quum ille fugiens
a place, what a time that was, ye immortal gods! When he running away

abdidisset se in latebras scalarum, fuit magnum
had hidden himself in the dark recesses of a staircase, that was a splendid chance

Miloni conficere illam pestem nulla invidia sua, vero
for Milo to despatch that plague with no odium to himself, but even with

maxime gloria Antonii. Quid? comitiis in Campo,
the greatest credit to Antony. What? at the comitia in the Campus Martius,

quoties fuit potestas! cum ille irrupisset in sæpta,
how often he had a chance! when he had broken into the voting booths, when he

curavisset gladios destringendos, lapides jaciendos, dein
had arranged all the sword drawing and stone throwing, and then

subito, perterritus Milonis vultu, fugeret in Tibrim, vos
all of a sudden, frightened by Milo's looks, fled to the Tiber, whilst you

et omnes boni faceretis vota ut liberet Miloni uti sua
and all honest men devoutly prayed that it would please Milo to exert his
virtute.
valour.

XVI. Igitur voluit cum querela aliquorum,
Did Milo then decide to kill, to the certain displeasure of certain people,
 quem noluit cum gratia omnium? Non
the man whom he refused to slay to the gratification of all men? He did not
 dubitavit occidere injuria, iniquo loco, alieno
hesitate then to slay unlawfully, on disadvantageous ground, at an unfavourable
 tempore, periculo capitis, hunc quem non ausus est
moment, at the risk of his own life, the man whom he did not venture to kill
 jure, quem loco, quem tempore, quem
with right on his side, with place and time in his favour, and with
 impune? præsertim, judices, quum contentio amplissimi
assured impunity? especially too, judges, when the contest for the highest
 honoris et comitiorum dies adesset, quo quidem
office in the state and the election day was at hand, at which particular
 tempore—enim scio quam timida ambitio sit, quantaque et quam
time—for I know how timid ambition is, and how deep and how
 sollicita cupiditas consulatus—timemus non modo omnia
anxious the desire for the consulship is—we are terrified at not only everything
 quæ possunt reprehendi, sed etiam quæ obscure cogitari;
that can be censured, but even that which can be secretly imagined;
 perhorrescimus rumorem, fictam levem fabulam; intuemur
we dread every rumour, every imaginary trifling story; we watch
 ora atque oculos omnium: enim nihil est tam molle, tam
the features and eyes of all: for nothing is so soft, so
 tenerum, tam fragile aut flexibile quam voluntas sensusque
tender, so fragile and flexible as the inclination and feeling
 civium erga nos, qui non modo irascuntur improbitati
of our countrymen towards us, who are not only displeased with the dishonesty
 candidatorum, sed fastidiunt etiam in recte factis.
of candidates, but are critical about them even in their virtuous actions.
 Milo igitur, proponens sibi hunc speratum atque exoptatum
Was Milo then, whilst setting before him this hoped-for and wished-for
 diem Campi, veniebat cruentis manibus ad
day of the Campus Martius, proposing to come with blood-stained hands to

illa augusta auspicia centuriarum, præ se ferens et confitens
these venerable auspices of the centuries, owning and confessing

scelus et facinus? Quam non credibile hoc in hoc!
wickedness and crime? How incredible such conduct in such a man!

Quam non idem dubitandum in Clodio, qui
How little is the same conduct to be doubted in the case of Clodius, who

putaret se regnaturum Milone interfecto! Quid!
thought that he would become a king as soon as Milo was slain! What!

quis ignorat, judices, quod est caput audaciæ, spem
who knows not, judges, what is the source of all audacity, that the hope

impunitatis esse maximam illecebram peccandi? Igitur in utro
of impunity, is the greatest temptation of all to do wrong? Now, in which

hæc fuit? In Milone, qui etiam nunc est
of the two did this exist? In Milo, who even at this moment is on his

reus facti aut præclari, aut certe
trial for an action (which may be called) either a righteous action, or at least

necessarii? an in Clodio, qui contempserat judicia pœnamque
a necessary one? or in Clodius, who had despised courts and penalties

ita ut nihil delectaret eum quod erat aut fas per
to such a degree that nothing pleased him which was either sanctioned by

naturam aut liceret per leges? Sed quid ego argumentor? Quid
nature or permitted by law? But why am I arguing? Why

plura disputo? Appello te, Quinte Petili, optimum et
prolong the discussion? I appeal to you, Quintus Petilius, a most honest and

fortissimum civem; te testor, Marce Cato; quos quædam
brave citizen; I call you to witness, Marcus Cato; whom some

divina sors dedit mihi judices. Vos audistis ex M.
heavenly providence has given me for judges. You have heard from Marcus

Favonio Clodium dixisse sibi Milonem perituum triduo,
Favonius that Clodius had told him that Milo would die within three days,

et audistis Clodio vivo. Tertium diem post
and you heard it too whilst Clodius was alive. Three days afterwards

res quam dixerat est gesta. Quum ille non dubitavit
the deed which he had mentioned was attempted. As he did not hesitate

aperire quid cogitaret, potestis vos dubitare quid
to disclose what he was planning, can you have any doubts about what

fecerit?
he actually did?

XVII. Quemadmodum igitur dies non fefellit eum?
How was it then that the day was not mistaken by him?

Equidem dixi modo. Erat nihil negotii nosse
I for my part told you just now. There was no great trouble in learning
 stata sacrificia dictatoris Lanuvini. Vidit esse necesse
the regular sacrifices of the dictator of Lanuvium. He saw it was necessary
 Miloni proficisci Lanuvium illo ipso die quo profectus est.
for Milo to go to Lanuvium on the very day on which he did go.

Itaque antevertit. At quo die? Quo,
Therefore he anticipated him. But on what day? Why, on the day on which,
 ut dixi ante, fuit insanissima concio concitata a
as I said before, there was a most turbulent assembly of the people got up by
 tribuno plebis mercenario ipsius; quem diem, quam
a tribune of the people in the pay of Clodius himself; which day, and which
 concionem, quos clamores, ille nunquam reliquisset, nisi
assembly, and which clamours, he never would have missed, unless

approperaret ad cogitatum facinus. Ergo illi
he had been hastening off to some planned crime. Consequently Clodius

ne quidem causa itineris, etiam causa manendi;
had not only no reason for a journey, but a reason for staying in Rome;

Miloni nulla facultas manendi, non solum causa sed
but Milo had no power of staying at home, had not only reason but
 etiam necessitas exeundi. Quid? si, ut ille

also absolute necessity for leaving Rome. How then? I say, just as Clodius
 scivit Milonem eo die fore in via, sic Milo
knew that Milo on that day must be on the road, in the same way Milo
 potuit ne quidem suspicari Clodium. Primum

could not even suspect that Clodius would be there. In the first place
 quæro, quæ potuerit scire: potestis non quærere quod idem
I ask, how could he have ascertained it? you cannot ask the same

in Clodio. Enim ut rogasset neminem
question with regard to Clodius. For granting that he had asked no one

aliu nisi T. Patinam, suum familiarissimum, potuit
else except Titus Patina, his most intimate friend, still he could have
 scire illo ipso die flaminem necesse esse prodi

learned (from him) that on that very day a priest had to be appointed

Lanuvii a Milone dictatore. Sed erant permulti alii
at Lanuvium by Milo the dictator. But there were plenty of other people
 ex quibus posset facillime scire id; scilicet omnes
from whom he could most easily ascertain that; for instance, all the people

Lanuvinī. Unde Milo quæsit de reditu Clodii?
of Lanuvium. But where could Milo make inquiries about the return of Clodius?

Sane quæsierit: videte quid largiar vobis:
Suppose, at all events, he made the inquiries: see what concessions I make you:

etiam corruerit servum, ut meus amicus Q. Arrius
suppose, also, that he bribed a slave, as my good friend Quintus Arrius
 dixit. Legite testimonia vestrorum testium. C. Cassinius Schola,
said. Read the evidence of your own witnesses. Cassius Cassinius Schola,

Interamnās, dixit—familiarissimus et idem comes Clodii,
of Interamna, stated—a particular friend, and even a companion of Clodius,

cujus testimonio Clodius fuerat jampridem Interamnæ et
by whose testimony Clodius had been, some time ago, at Interamna and

Romæ eadem hora—P. Clodium illo die fuisse
at Rome at the very same hour—that Publius Clodius on that day intended

mansurum in Albano, sed subito nuntiatum esse ei
to remain on his Alban estate, but that it had been suddenly announced to him

architectum Cyrum esse mortuum, itaque constituisse
that the architect Cyrus was dead, and therefore he determined

proficisci Romam. C. Clodius, item comes P.
to proceed to Rome at once. Caius Clodius, also a companion of Publius

Clodii, hoc dixit.

Clodius, made the same statement.

XVIII. Videte, iudices, quantæ res sint confectæ his

Notice, judges, what important points are established by such
 testimoniis. Primum Milo certe liberatur esse
evidence. First of all, Milo certainly is freed from the charge, as having

profectus non eo consilio ut insidiaretur Clodio in via.
set out without any intention of waylaying Clodius on the road.

Quippe; si ille erat non futurus obvius ei omnino. Deinde
Certainly not; for he was not likely to meet him at all. In the next place

(enim non video cur non quoque agam negotium meum)
(for I do not see why I should not also attend to a concern of my own)

scitis, iudices, fuisse qui, in suadenda hac rogatione,
you know, judges, that there were men who, in

dicerent cædem esse factam manu Milonis, vero
asserted that the murder was committed by the hand of Milo, but by the

consilio alicujus majoris. Abjecti et perditioni
design of some more important person. Those abject and profligate

homines videlicet describebant me latronem ac sicarium. *Ii wretches, in truth, pointed me out as the bandit and assassin. They*
jacent suis testibus, qui negant Clodium fuisse
are overthrown by their own witnesses, who say that Clodius would have
rediturum Romam nisi audisset de Cyro.
never intended to return to Rome if he had not heard some news about Cyrus.
Respiravi; sum liberatus; non vereor ne videar
I breathe again; I am cleared; I am not afraid of seeming likely
cogitasse id quod potuerim ne quidem suspicari. Nunc
to have planned an action which I could not have even suspected. Now
persequar cætera; nam illud occurrit: Igitur Clodius
I will pursue other points; for this idea suggests itself: For this reason Clodius
ne cogitavit quidem de insidiis, quoniam fuit
had no idea even of lying in wait for Milo, because he intended
mansurus in Albano; si quidem non fuisset exiturus e
to stay on his Alban estate; since he had not determined to leave his
villa ad cædem. Enim video illum qui dicatur
villa in order to commit a murder. For I see clearly that the man who is said
nuntiasse de Cyri morte non nuntiasse id, sed
to have brought news of Cyrus's death did not announce that fact to him, but
Milonem appropinquare. Nam quid nuntiaret de
the fact that Milo was coming. For why should he bring news about
Cyro, quem Clodius, proficiscens Roma, reliquerat morientem?
Cyrus, whom Clodius, when he set out from Rome, had left dying?
Fui una; signavi testamentum simul cum Clodio; autem
I was with him; I signed his will at the same time as Clodius; besides
palam fecerat testamentum, et scripserat me et illum
he had openly made his will, and had made me and Clodius
hæredem. Reliquisset quem pridie tertia hora efflantem
his heirs. And since he had left him the day before at 9 a.m. breathing
animam, nuntiabatur denique postridie hora decima eum
his last, was the news sent at length on the following day at 4 p.m. that he
mortuum?
was dead?

XIX. Age, ita sit factum: quæ causa cur
Well, then, suppose this to be the case: what was his reason for
properaret Romam? cur conjiceret se in noctem? quid afferebat
hurrying to Rome? why did he plunge into night? what produced

causam festinationis? quod erat hæres? Primum
the necessity of this hurry? was it because he was Cyrus's heir? In the first place,
 erat nihil cur opus esset properato; deinde, si esset quid,
there was no need for haste; secondly, if there was any occasion,
 tandem quid erat quod posset consequi ea nocte, autem
pray what was there that he could gain that night, or was
 amitteret si venisset mane postridie Romam? Atque
likely to lose if he had started early the next day for Rome? And
 ut adventus ad urbem nocturnus potius vitandus illi quam
as an arrival in the city by night was rather to be avoided by him than
 expetendus, sic Miloni, quum esset insidiator, si sciebat
to be courted, so Milo, as he was a setter of ambuscades, if he learnt that
 illum accessurum noctu ad urbem, subsidendum
Clodius was going by night to Rome, would only have had to post himself
 atque expectandum. Noctu, in loco insidioso,
in ambush and wait for his foe. At night, on ground suitable for an ambuscade,
 et pleno latronum, occidisset; nemo non
full of robbers, he might have slain him; and no one would have withheld
 credidisset ei neganti, omnes volunt quem esse salvum
belief if he had denied the deed, for all men wish him to be well out of danger
 etiam confitentem. Locus ipse occultator et receptor
even though he now confesses it. The place itself harbouring and sheltering
 latronum sustinuisset crimen hoc, dum neque muta
thieves would have borne imputation of this deed, while neither the voiceless
 solitudo indicasset, neque cæca nox ostendisset
solitude would have incriminated, nor the dark night would have given-evidence-
 Milonem: deinde multi violati ibi ab illo,
against Milo: in the next place, the many who have been assailed there by Clodius,
 spoliati, expulsi bonis, multi etiam timentes hæc
robbed, stripped of their property, many, too, in apprehension of similar
 caderent in suspicionem; denique tota Etruria
treatment would incur suspicion; in short, all Etruria would have been
 rea citaretur. Atque certe illo die Clodius rediens
impeached and summoned. And certainly on that day Clodius on his way
 Aricia devertit ad se in Albanum. Quod ut
back from Aricia turned aside to his own place, to his Alban farm. But supposing
 Milo sciret illum fuisse Ariciæ, tamen debuit suspicari,
that Milo knew that Clodius was at Aricia, still he ought to have guessed
 eum, etiam si vellet reverti Romam illo die, deversurum
that Clodius, even if he wished to return to Rome on that day, would turn aside

ad suam villam, quæ tangeret viam. Cur neque occurrit
 to his villa, which was close to the public road. Why did he not then go-and-
 antea, ille ne resideret in villa; nec
 meet-him sooner, so that he might not quarter himself in his villa; why did not
 subsedit in eo loco quo ille venturus esset noctu?
 Milo post himself in a place which Clodius would reach in the course of the night?

Video, iudices, omnia adhuc constare: Miloni fuisse
 I plainly see, judges, that all the facts are still consistent: that to Milo it was
 etiam utile Clodium vivere; interitum Milonis optatissimum
 really advantageous for Clodius to live; that the death of Milo was eagerly desired
 illi ad ea quæ concupierat: illius fuisse
 by Clodius to bring about the ends he had in view: the latter felt
 acerbissimum odium in hunc; hujus nullum in illum:
 bitter animosity against the former; the former none against the latter:

illius perpetuam consuetudinem in vi inferenda; hujus tantum
 in one the habitual practice of deeds of violence; in the other only

in repellenda: mortem denuntiata Miloni ab illo et
 the habit of repelling such deeds: death threatened to Milo by Clodius and

palam prædictam; nihil unquam auditum ex Milone:
 openly foretold; nothing like this was ever heard on the part of Milo:

diem hujus profectionis notum illi; reditum illius
 the date of Milo's journey was known to Clodius; that of the return of Clodius

fuisse ignotum huic: iter hujus necessarium; illius
 was unknown to the other: the journey of the one compulsory; of the other

potius alienum: hunc præ se tulisse illo die se
 rather inconvenient than otherwise: Milo openly declaring that on that day he

exiturum Roma; illum dissimulasse se rediturum eo die:
 intended to leave Rome; the other suppressing his intended return on that day:

hunc mutasse consilium nullius rei; illum finxisse causam
 the one altered his plans in nothing; the other invented an imaginary reason

mutandi consilii: huic si insidiaretur expectandam
 for changing his plans: the one, if he were planning an assassination, had to wait

noctem prope urbem; illi, etiam si timeret non hunc, tamen fuisse
 for nightfall near Rome; the other, even if he feared not Milo, at all events had

metuendum accessum ad urbem nocturnum.
 cause to fear approaching the city at night-time.

XX. Nunc videamus id— quod est caput:
 Let us now look at this point—and it really is the main point:

locus ipse ubi congressi sunt, utri tandem fuerit
viz., the place itself where they met, to which of the two, pray, did it offer
 aptior ad insidias? Vero etiam dubitandum diutius
the greater facilities for an ambuscade? Can there be any doubting or lengthened
 cogitandum id, iudices? Ante Clodii fundum, in
deliberation wanted on this point, judges? In front of Clodius's farm, on
 quo fundo, propter illas insanas substructiones, facile mille
which farm, owing to those mad excavations of his, quite a thousand
 valentium hominum versabantur, edito atque excelso loco
able-bodied labourers were employed, on rising and high ground

adversarii, Milo putarat se fore superiorem?
belonging to his adversary, (I ask) did Milo think that he would have the best of it?
 et ob eam rem elegerat potissimum eum locum ad pugnam?
did he for that reason select particularly that ground to fight on?

An potius expectatus est in eo loco ab eo qui cogitarat
Was he not rather waited for on that spot by the man who had planned
 facere impetum spe ipsius loci? Res
to make an attack with hopes inspired by the very nature of the place? Facts
 loquitur ipsa, iudices, quæ semper plurimum valet. Si
speak for themselves, judges, and they have always most weight. If

non audiretis hæc gesta, sed videretis
you were not listening to the recital of these facts, but saw them represented in a-
 picta, tamen appareret uter esset insidiator, uter
picture, it would be still quite clear which of the two was the plotter, and which
 cogitaret nihil mali: quum alter veheretur in
of the two was planning no crime at all: for one party was riding in

rheda pænulatus, uxor sederet una.
his carriage, wrapped up in his heavy cloak, whilst his wife sat by his side.

Horum quid non impeditissimum, vestitus, an
Of all these things which was not a very great encumbrance, the dress, the
 vehiculum, an comes? Quid minus promptum ad pugnam
carriage, or the companion? What could be less ready for a fight

quam pænula irretitus, impeditus rheda, pæne
than a man entangled in his cloak as in a net, hindered by a carriage, almost
 constrictus uxore? Nunc videte illum primum egredientem e
hampered by a wife? Now look at Clodius as he first departs from

villas, subito; cur? vesperi; quid necesse est? tarde; qui
his villa, suddenly; why? in the evening; what necessity is there? slowly; how

convenit, præsertim id temporis? Devertit in Pompeii
does that suit him, particularly at that hour? He turns aside to Pompeius'

villam: ut videret Pompeium? sciebat esse
 villa: is it to see Pompeius? nay, he knew well that he was away
 in Alsieni: ut perspiceret villam? fuerat millies.
 at his Alsiian farm: to see the villa? he had been there a thousand times.
 Quid ergo erat? Erat mora et tergiversatio:
 What then was the motive? It was mere intentional delay and lingering:
 dum hic veniret noluit relinquere locum.
 till Milo came, he did not want to leave the place.

XXI. Age nunc, compare iter expediti latronis
 Come now, compare the journey of this unencumbered highwayman
 cum impedimentis Milonis. Ille semper antea cum
 with the baggage-train of Milo. Clodius on all former occasions was with
 uxore; tum sine ea: nunquam nisi in rheda; tum
 his wife; then he was without her: he never went except in a carriage; then
 in equo: comites Græculi quocunque
 he was on horseback: his companions were a lot of Grecian creatures wherever
 ibat, etiam quum properabat in Etrusca castra; tum
 he went, even when he was hastening to the Tuscan camp; but this time there
 nihil nugarum in comitatu. Milo, qui nunquam, tum
 were no triflers in his train. Milo, who never did so habitually, was then
 casu ducebat symphoniacos pueros uxoris et greges
 by accident taking with him some musical slaves of his wife and troops
 ancillarum; ille, qui semper duceret secum scorta, semper
 of maid-servants; Clodius, who always carried with him prostitutes, worn-out
 exoletos, semper lupas, tum neminem, nisi ut
 wretches, and courtesans, then had no one with him, except what you
 diceres virum lectum esse a viro. Cur igitur est victus? Quia
 would call men selected by men. Why then was he beaten? Because
 viator non semper occiditur a latrone, nonnunquam etiam latro
 the traveller is not always killed by the robber, sometimes even the robber
 a viatore; quia, quanquam Clodius paratus in
 is killed by the traveller; because, though Clodius fully prepared, fell on men
 imparatos, tamen inciderat mulier in viros. Nec vero erat
 who were unprepared, still he fell like a woman upon men. Nor, in truth, was
 Milo unquam sic non paratus contra illum ut non esset fere
 Milo ever so unprepared to resist Clodius as not to be generally
 paratus satis. Ille semper cogitabat quantum interesset P.
 prepared enough. He always bore in mind how greatly it concerned Publius

Clodii se perire, et quanto odio esset illi, et quantum
Clodius that he should be slain, how hated he was by him, and to what lengths
 ille auderet. Quamobrem nunquam projiciebat suam vitam,
he carried his audacity. Therefore he never exposed his life,

quam sciebat maximis præmiis propositam et pæne
on which he knew that a high price had been set, and that it was almost
 addictam, in periculum sine præsidio et sine custodia.
at the mercy of his foe, to danger without protection and without a guard.

Adde casus, adde incertos exitus pugnarum, communemque
Add to this the chances, add the uncertain issues of combats, and impartial

Martem, qui sæpe et evertit jam spoliantem et
Mars, who often overthrows the man who is already stripping his foe and
 exultantem, et percutit ab abjecto; adde inscitiam ducis
exulting, and strikes him down by a mean agent; add the lack of skill of a leader

pransi, poti, oscitantis, qui, quum reliquisset hostem
who had dined, who was drunk and yawning, who, when he had left his enemy
 interclusum a tergo, nihil cogitavit de ejus comitibus extremis;
cut off in the rear, never thought of his companions on the extremities

quum incidisset in quos, incensos ira
of the train; and when he had fallen on them, filled as they were with anger
 desperantesque vitam domini, hæsit in iis
and despairing of saving the life of their master, he was mulcted in those

pœnis quas fideles servi expetiverunt pro vita
penalties which the faithful slaves inflicted on him as compensation for the life
 domini. Cur igitur manumisit eos? Scilicet metuebat
of their master. Why then has Milo emancipated them? I suppose he was afraid

ne indicarent, ne non possent ferre dolorem, ne
that they would inform, that they would not be able to endure pain, that they

cogerentur tormentis confiteri P. Clodium esse occisum a
might be compelled by torture to confess that Publius Clodius was slain by

Milonis servis in Appia via. Quod opus est torture?
Milo's slaves on the Appian road. What need is there of any tormentor?

Quid quæris? Occideritne? Occidit. Jure an injuria?
What seek you to find out? Did he kill him? He did. Justly or unjustly?

Ad tortorem nihil; enim quæstio facti est in
The torturer has nothing to do with that; for investigation of fact belongs to
 eculeo, juris in judicio.
the rack, the question of lawfulness belongs to the bench.

XXII. Hic agamus id quod est quærendum in causa.
Here let us attend to that which ought to be investigated in this case.

Fatemur id quod vis invenire tormentis. Vero si potius
We admit all that you can want to find out by torture. But if you prefer
 quæris id, cur manumiserit, quam cur affecerit parum amplis
to inquire into this, why he freed his slaves rather than present them with insufficient
 præmiis, nescis reprehendere factum inimici. Enim Marcus
rewards, you are unable to censure the conduct of an enemy. For Marcus
 Cato hic idem, qui semper omnia constanter et fortiter,
Cato, who is here present, who always says everything consistently and bravely,
 et dixit in turbulenta concione, quæ tamen
and he said it, too, in a very disorderly assembly of the people, which, however,
 placata est hujus auctoritate, dixit esse dignissimos non
was pacified by his influence, said that these slaves were most deserving, not
 libertate solum, sed etiam omnibus præmiis, qui defendissent caput
of liberty only, but also of all possible rewards, for having defended the life
 domini. Enim quod præmium est satis magnum servis tam
of their master. For what reward is sufficiently great for slaves so
 benevolis, tam bonis, tam fidelibus, propter quos vivit? Etsi
well-disposed, so honest, and so faithful, to whom he owes his life? Although
 id quidem est non tanti quam quod propter
that phrase, indeed, is not so expressive as it would be if one said that, owing to
 eosdem non satiavit mentem oculosque crudelissimi
these same slaves, he did not glut the soul and eyes of his cruellest
 inimici sanguine et vulneribus. Si non manumisit quos,
foe with his blood and wounds. And if he had not freed them,
 conservatores domini, ultores sceleris, defensores
these preservers of their master, these avengers of crime, these defenders from
 necis, fuerunt dedendi tormentis. Vero hic in
slaughter, must have even been surrendered to torture. But Milo, in the midst of
 his malis habet nihil quod ferat minus moleste quam,
these his misfortunes, has nothing which causes him less uneasiness than the
 etiamsi quid accadat ipsi, persolutum esse
thought that, even if some calamity should happen to himself, he has paid
 illis meritum præmium. Sed quæstiones quæ nunc sunt habitæ
his slaves their deserved reward. But the examinations which now have been held
 in Atrio Libertatis urgent Milonem. De quibusnam
in the Hall of Liberty press Milo hard. Examinations of what
 servis? Rogas? De P. Clodii. Quis postulavit eos?
slaves? Do you ask? Those of Publius Clodius. Who demanded their

Appius. Quis produxit? Appius. Unde?

examination? Appius. Who produced them? Appius. Wherefrom?

Ab Appio. Boni di! quid potest agi severius?
From the house of Appius. Good heavens! what can be done more rigorously?

Nulla quæstio est de servis in dominum, nisi
No examination by torture can be held on slaves against their master, except in

de incestu, ut fuit in Clodium. Clodius accessit
the case of sacrilege, as was the case against Clodius. Clodius has been raised

proxime ad deos, propius quam tum quum penetraret ad
almost to the gods, more so than even when he forced his way in amongst

ipsos, de cuius morte quæritur tanquam de
them, when about his death an investigation is carried on like one about

violatis cærimoniis. Sed tamen nostri majores noluerunt
profaned ceremonies. Still our ancestors forbade the examination

quæri de servo in dominum; non quia verum posset non
by torture of a slave against his master; not because the truth could not

inveniri, sed quia videbatur indignum, et tristius
be found out, but because it seemed a shameful thing, and more grievous to their

dominis morte ipsa. Quum quæritur de accusatori
masters than death itself. Then, when examination by torture of the prosecutor's

servo in reum, potest verum inveniri? Age vero,
slave is employed against the defendant, can the truth be found out? Come, then,

quæ aut qualis erat quæstio? Heus, tu Rufio (causâ verbi)!
how and what was the examination? Holloa, you Rufio (to invent a name)!

cave sis mentiari. Clodius fecit insidias Miloni? Fecit:
mind, if you please, not a lie. Did Clodius lay a snare for Milo? Yes:

certa crux. Fecit nullas: sperata
he is sure to be crucified for saying so. He laid no snare: he has hopes

libertas. Quid certius hac quæstione? Subito
of liberty. What can be surer than this mode of examination? Slaves suddenly

abrepti in quæstionem tamen separantur a
carried off for the purpose of examination are yet separated from

ceteris et conjiciuntur in arcas ne quis posset colloqui
the other prisoners, and are cast into cells so that no one may converse

cum iis. Quum hi fuissent centum dies penes
with them. When these had been one hundred days in the keeping

accusatorem sunt producti ab eo accusatore
of the prosecutor they were brought forward as witnesses by that prosecutor

ipso. Quid potest dici integrius hac quæstione? Quid
 himself. *What can be mentioned fairer than this examination? What*
 incorruptius?
less corrupt?

XXIII. Quod si nondum satis cernitis, quum res ipsa
But if you do not yet see plainly enough, although the case itself
 luceat tot tam claris argumentis signisque,
is made perfectly clear by so many and so clear arguments and proofs,
 Milonem revertisse Romam mente pura atque integra, imbutum
that Milo returned to Rome with soul guiltless and unstained, polluted
 nullo scelere, perterritum nullo metu, exanimatum nulla
by no crime, overpowered by no panic, paralysed by no guilt
 conscientia, per immortales deos, recordamini
of conscience, then, in the name of the immortal gods, (I beg you to) call to mind
 quæ fuerit celeritas ejus reditus; qui ingressus in forum,
how great was the rapidity of his return; his manner of entering the forum,
 curia ardente: quæ magnitudo animi,
whilst the senate house was in flames; how great his self-possession,
 qui vultus, quæ oratio. Vero commisit
the expression of countenance, the nature of his language. Moreover, he trusted
 se neque solum populo, sed senatui etiam; neque modo
himself not only to the people, but to the senate also; not only
 senatui, sed etiam publicis prædiis et armis; neque his solum,
to the senate, but also to the public guards and arms; not to them only,
 verum etiam potestati ejus cui senatus commiserat
but also to the power of the man to whose care the senate had committed
 totam rempublicam, omnem pubem Italiæ, cuncta arma Romani
the entire state, all the youth of Italy, all the arms of the Roman
 populi; cui hic profecto nunquam tradidisset
people: into whose hands he certainly would never have delivered
 se nisi confideret suæ causæ, præsertim
himself if he had not trusted to the merits of his cause, especially
 audienti omnia, metuenti magna, suspicanti
as Pompeius heard all things, feared great dangers, suspected
 multa, credenti nonnulla. Magna est vis conscientiæ,
many things, believed some things. Great is the power of conscience,
 iudices, magna in utramque partem, ut neque timeant
judges, great on both sides, such that those feel no fear

qui commiserint nihil, et qui peccarint putent
who have committed no crime, whilst those who have done wrong think

pœnam semper versari ante oculos. Vero neque sine
that punishment is ever present before their eyes. And, truly, not without
 certa causa Milonis causa semper probata est a senatu; enim
sure cause has Milo's case ever been supported by the senate; for
 sapientissimi homines videbant rationem facti,
these wisest men saw the circumstances of the case, Milo's
 præsentiam animi, constantiam defensionis. An vero oblitus esis,
presence of mind, the firmness of his defence. Have you forgotten,

judices, illo recenti nuncio Clodianæ necis, sermones et
judges, in that late announcement of Clodius's death, the language and
 opiniones, non modo Milonis inimicorum, sed etiam nonnullorum
the opinions, not only of Milo's enemies, but also of some
 imperitorum? Negabant eum esse rediturum Romam;
ignorant people? They said that he would not return to Rome;

enim si irato ac percito animo fecisset illud, ut
for if he had through anger and excited feelings committed the deed, so
 trucidaret inimicum incensus odio, arbitrabantur eum
that he slew his enemy when inflamed with hatred, they thought that he

putasse mortem P. Clodii tanti ut careret
had reckoned the death of Publius Clodius of such great value that he could leave
 patria æquo animo, quum explesset suum odium sanguine
his country with resignation, having sated his hatred in the blood
 inimici; sive voluisset etiam liberare patriam morte
of his enemy; or if he had determined also to set free his country by the death
 illius, non dubitaturum fortem virum, quum attulisset
of Clodius, he would not hesitate as a brave man, after bringing

salutem reipublicæ suo periculo, quin cederet æquo animo legibus,
safety to the state at his own risk, to yield with resignation to the laws,
 auferret secum sempiternam gloriam relinqueret hæc quæ
to carry off with himself everlasting glory, and to leave these things which

ipse servasset fruenda nobis. Multi etiam loquebantur
he himself had saved to be enjoyed by us. Many also spoke
 Catilinam, atque illa portenta.

“Erumpet, occupabit
of Catiline, and those monsters like him. “He will rush forth, he will seize

aliquem locum, faciet bellum patriæ.” Miseros interdum
some place, he will make war on his country.” Wretched sometimes
 cives optime meritos de republica, in quibus homines
are those citizens who have well served the state in whose case men

non modo obliviscuntur præclarissimas res, sed etiam suspicantur
not only forget their noblest actions, but even suspect them
 nefarias. Ergo illa fuerunt falsa, quæ certe
of the worst. Therefore all these imputations were false, which would certainly
 exstiterent vera, si Milo admisisset aliquid quod posset non
have proved true, if Milo had done anything which he could not
 defendere honeste vereque.
defend honourably and truly.

XXIV. Quid ! quæ postea sunt congesta in eum.
What! the charges which afterwards were heaped upon him,
 quæ perculissent quemvis conscientia etiam mediocrium
which would have crushed any man through consciousness of even trifling
 delictorum, ut sustinuit? Immortales dii! ut
offences, how did he support them? O immortal gods! did I say
 sustinuit? Immo vero, ut contempsit ac putavit pro
support them? Nay, more, how did he despise them and consider them as
 nihilo? quæ neque nocens maximo animo,
nothing? charges which no guilty man of the most unflinching courage,
 neque innocens nisi fortissimus, potuisset negligere. Indica-
or innocent man unless most fearless, could have disregarded. Informa-
 batur multitudo scutorum, gladiatorum, frenorum,
tion was given that a great collection of shields, swords, bridles,
 pilorumque posse deprehendi. Dicebant nullum vicum
and javelins could be seized. They said that there was no street
 in urbe, nullum angiportum, in quo esset non domus conducta
in the city, no alley, in which there was not a house hired
 Miloni; arma devecta Tiberi ad villam
for Milo; that supplies of arms had been conveyed down by the Tiber to his villa
 Ocriculanam; domus in Capitolino clivo referta scutis;
at Ocriculum; his house on the Capitoline hill was filled with shields;
 omnia plena malleolorum comparatorum ad incendia
every place was full of firebrands prepared for the burning
 urbis. Hæc non solum delata sed pæne credita, nec
of the city. These things were not only reported but almost believed, nor
 sunt repudiata antequam quæsita. Equidem laudabam
were they rejected until they had been investigated. I for my part praised
 incredibilem diligentiam Cn. Pompeii; sed dicam ut sentio.
the incredible diligence of Cneius Pompeius; but I will speak as I think.

Ii quibus tota respublica est commissa coguntur audire nimis
Those to whom the whole state is entrusted are compelled to listen to too
 multa, nec possunt facere aliter. Quin etiam nescio qui
many things, nor can they do otherwise. Nay, even a somebody
 de Circo Maximo, popa Licinius, fuerat audiendus.
from the Circus Maximus, a priest's servant called Licinius, had to be listened to.
 Nuntiavit Pompeio in hortos, Milonis servos, factos
He sent word to Pompeius into his gardens, to say that Milo's slaves, having got
 ebrios apud se, confessos esse sibi conjurasse de interficiendo
drunk at his house, confessed to him that they conspired to murder
 Pompeio; dein se postea percutsum gladio ab
Pompeius; next, he said that he was afterwards wounded with a sword by
 uno de illis, ne indicaret. Arcessor in primis;
one of them, to prevent him from informing. I was sent for among the first;
 de sententia amicorum defert rem adsenatum. Poteram
by the advice of his friends Pompeius reports the affair to the senate. I could
 non non exanimari metu in suspicione illius,
not help being almost frightened to death at the bare suspicion of that man,
 custodis mei patriæque: sed tamen mirabar popæ
the protector of myself and of my country: still I was surprised that the priest
 credi; confessionem servi audiri; vulnus
was believed; that the confession of the slave was listened to; that the wound
 in latere, quod videretur punctum acu, probari pro
in the side, which looked like the prick of a needle, should be proved to be
 ictu gladiatoris. Verum, ut intelligo, Pompeius
the sword-thrust of a gladiator. But, as I am convinced, Pompeius was
 cavebat, magis quam timebat, non solum ea quæ
taking precautions about, rather than fearing, not only these things which
 erant timenda, sed omnia, ne vos aliquid
it was right to fear, but in fact about everything, lest you should have something
 timeretis. Domus C. Cæsaris, clarissimi et fortissimi
to be afraid of. The house of Caius Cæsar, that distinguished and intrepid
 viri, nuntiabatur oppugnata per multas horas noctis:
men, was reported to be in a state of siege during many hours of the night:
 nemo tam celebri loco audierat, senserat:
but no one in that so frequented part had heard of it, no one had witnessed it:
 tamen audiebatur. Poteram non suspicari Cn. Pompeium,
still the report was heard. I could not suspect Cneius Pompeius,
 virum præstantissima virtute, timidum; putabam, republica
a man of most exalted courage, of being timid; I considered, as the government

tota suscepta, nullam diligentiam
of the whole state had been undertaken by him, that no carefulness on his part
 nimiam. Nuper frequentissimo senatu senator est
could be too great. Very lately, in a very full senate, a senator was
 inventus qui diceret Milonem esse cum telo. Nudavit
found to say that Milo had a weapon about him. He stripped
 se in sanctissimo templo, quoniam vita talis civis et viri
himself in that most sacred temple, since the life of such a citizen and man
 non faciebat fidem nisi res ipsa loqueretur
as he was could not gain credit unless facts themselves spoke whilst
 eo tacente.
he himself said not a word.

XXV. Omnia sunt comperta falsa atque insidiose
All charges were proved to be false and treacherously
 facta. Quod si Milo tamen etiam nunc metuitur, non jam
invented. But if Milo after all is still an object of fear, we no longer
 timemus hoc crimen Clodianum, sed perhorrescimus tuas
fear this charge respecting Clodius, but we shudder at your
 suspiciones, Cn. Pompei, tuas, inquam (enim appello jam
suspensions, Cneius Pompeius, at yours, I say (for I address myself now
 te et ea voce ut possis exaudire me). Si
to you and with so loud a voice that you can hear me). For if
 times Milonem, si putas hunc aut nunc cogitare
you are afraid of Milo, if you think that the man is either now planning
 aut aliquando molitum aliquid nefarie de tua vita; si
or has ever at any time designed anything impiously against your life; if
 delectus Italiæ, ut nonnulli tui conquisitores dictitarunt,
the levying of troops in Italy, as some of your recruiting-agents asserted,
 si hæc arma, si cohortes Capitulinæ, excubiæ, vigiliæ,
if those arms, if those troops in the Capitol, if these watches by day and night.
 si delecta juvenus quæ custodit tuum corpus domumque
if these picked youths who guard your person and your house,
 est armata contra impetum Milonis, atque omnia illa
have been armed against an attack by Milo, and if all these things
 sunt instituta, parata, intenta in hunc unum; certe magna vis
have been arranged, prepared, aimed against him alone; certainly great power
 et incredibilis animus, et vires atque opes non unius viri
and incredible courage, and the vigour and resources of more than one single man

indicantur, si quidem præstantissimus dux est electus, et
are exhibited, if, indeed, our most eminent general has been selected, and
 tota respublica armata est in hunc unum. Sed quis
the whole state armed to cope with this one single man. But who
 intelligit non omnes ægras et labantes partes reipublicæ
understands not that all the diseased and feeble parts of the state
 esse commissas tibi, ut sanares et confirmares eas his
have been entrusted to you, that you may heal and strengthen them by those
 armis? Quod si locus esset datus Miloni perfecto
arms of yours? But if a chance had been offered to Milo he would certainly
 probasset tibi ipsi neminem hominem fuisse unquam
have proved to you yourself that no man was ever
 cariorem homini quam te sibi; se unquam fugisse
more dear to another man than you are to him; that he had never shunned
 nullum periculum pro tua dignitate; se sæpissime contendisse
any danger to promote your dignity; that he had often fought
 cum illa ipsa teterrima peste pro tua gloria; suum
against that very vilest of plagues, Clodius, for your glory; that his
 tribunatum gubernatum tuis consiliis ad meam salutem,
tribuneship had been conducted by your counsels to ensure my safety,
 quæ fuisset carissima tibi; postea se defensum a te
which was very dear to you; that afterwards he had been defended by you
 in periculo capitis, adjutum in petitione
when in danger of losing his life, assisted by you when competing for
 præturæ; sperasse se habere duos semper amicissimos,
the prætorship; that he hoped that he had secured two ever most devoted friends,
 te tuo beneficio, me suo. Si non
you by your kindness to him, myself by his own to me. And if he could not
 probaret quæ; si ista suspicio ita penitus hæsisset
prove these facts; if that suspicion of yours had been so deeply implanted
 tibi, ut posset evelli nullo modo; si denique Italia esset
in you, that it could be removed by no means; if in fact Italy was
 nunquam quietura a delectu, urbs ab armis, sine Milonis
never to have rest from levies, or the city from arms, without Milo's
 clade; næ iste haud dubitans cessisset patria, is
ruin; doubtless Milo without hesitation would have left his country, a man
 qui ita natus est et consuevit ita; tamen,
who was so disposed from his birth and accustomed so to act; still,
 Magne, antestaretur te, quod etiam nunc facit.
Magnus, he would claim your evidence, as he even now does.

XXVI. Vide quam varia commutabilisque ratio vitæ sit;
See how various and changeable our plan of life is;
 quam vaga volubilisque fortuna; quantæ infidelitates in
how erratic and fickle fortune is; how great faithlessness is found in
 amicitiiis, quam ad tempus aptæ simulationes, quantæ fugæ
friendship, what time-serving dissemblings, how general the desertion
 proximorum in periculis, quantæ timiditates. Tempus
of one's nearest connections in danger, how great their cowardice. The time
 erit, profecto erit, et aliquando dies illucescet, quum
will come, will certainly come, and sooner or later the day will dawn, when
 tu, tuis rebus, ut spero, salutaribus, sed fortasse
you, while your position will, I hope, be still secure, but, perchance,
 motu aliquo communium temporum (quam crebro
owing to the commotion of some general convulsion (and how frequently
 qui accidat debemus scire experti), desideres
this happens we ought to know from experience)—when you, I say, may miss
 benevolentiam amicissimi, et animi magnitudinem gravissimi
the goodwill of a true friend, and the magnanimity of a most influential
 viri. Quanquam quis credat hoc, Cn. Pompeium,
citizen. Although who would believe this, that Cn. Pompeius,
 peritissimum publici juris, moris majorum, et
thoroughly acquainted with public law, the usages of our ancestors, and
 denique rei publicæ, quum senatus commiserit ei ut
particularly with state affairs, when the senate had commissioned him to
 videret “ne respublica caperet quid detrimenti”—quo uno
see “that the state suffered no harm” — by which single
 versiculo consules semper fuerunt satis armati etiam
sentence consuls have ever been sufficiently armed even though
 nullis armis datis—hunc exercitu, hunc
no arms were given them—that he when an army, that he when
 delectu dato, expectaturum fuisse judicium
a levy had been given him was going to wait for the decision of the court
 in vindicandis consiliis ejus qui tolleret ipsa judicia
in condemning the conduct of the man who would abolish the very courts
 vi? Est satis judicatum a Pompeio ista
by violence? It was sufficiently decided by Pompeius that these charges
 falso conferri in Milonem; qui tulit legem qua, ut ego
were falsely brought against Milo; for he passed a law by which, as I
 sentio, Milonem oporteret absolvi a vobis,—ut omnes
think, Milo was bound to be acquitted by you,—by which, as all

fatentur, liceret. Quod sedet in illo loco atque
admit, it would be lawful to do so. But by sitting in that place and
 circumfusus illis copiis publicorum præsidiorum, declarat
surrounded by those bands of public guards, he shows plainly
 se non inferre terrorem vobis (enim quid minus dignum
that he is not striking terror into you (for what could be less worthy
 illo quam cogere vos ut condemnetis eum in quem ipse
of him than to force you to condemn a man on whom he himself
 posset animadvertere et more majorum, et
could inflict punishment both according to the usage of our ancestors, and
 suo jure?), sed esse præsidio, ut
by his own authority?), but that he is a protection to you, that you
 intelligatis vobis licere judicare libere
may be assured that you will be permitted to decide freely according
 quod sentiatis, contra illam concionem populi
to your own convictions, in opposition to that assembly of the people
 hesternam.
held yesterday.

XXVII. Nec vero, iudices, crimen Clodianum
Nor in truth, judges, does the charge arising from Clodius's
 movet, nec sum tam deimens tamque ignarus atque expers
death move me, nor am I so distracted and so ignorant and unacquainted
 vestri sensus, ut nesciam quid sentiatis de morte Clodii.
with your sentiments, as not to know what you think of the death of Clodius.
 De qua, si nollem jam diluere ut
With regard to which, if I were unwilling now to clear away the charge as
 dilui, tamen liceret Miloni clamare palam impune.
I have done, still it would be allowed to Milo to proclaim aloud with impunity.
 ac gloriose mentiri: Occidi, occidi, non
and to utter this boastful falsehood: I have slain, yes, I have slain, not
 Sp. Mælium, qui levanda annona jacturisque
Spurius Mælius, who by lowering the price of corn and the sacrifice
 familiaris rei, quia videbatur nimis amplecti plebem,
of his private property, because he seemed to pay too much court to the commons,
 incidit in suspicionem appetendi regni; non Ti. Gracchum,
incurred the suspicion of aiming at royalty; not Tiberius Gracchus,
 qui per seditionem abrogavit magistratum collegæ; quorum
who seditiously cancelled the appointment of his own colleague; whose

interfectores impleverunt orbem terrarum gloria sui
slayers have filled the whole world with the renown of their
 nominis; sed eum (enim auderet dicere, quum suo
name; but that man (for he would venture to name him, when at his own
 periculo liberasset patriam) cujus nefandum adulterium in
risk he had delivered his country) whose sacrilegious intrigue in
 sanctissimis pulvinaribus nobilissimæ fœminæ comprehenderunt;
most hallowed temples certain most noble ladies detected;
 eum cujus supplicio senatus sæpe censuit sollemnes
the man by whose execution the senate often decided that (outraged) religious
 religiones expiandas; eum quem L. Lucullus juratus,
services ought to be atoned for; the man of whom Lucius Lucullus on his oath.
 quæstionibus habitis, dixit se comperisse fecisse
when investigations were held, declared that he had discovered proofs of an
 nefarium stuprum cum germana sorore; eum qui armis
incestuous intrigue with his own sister; the man who by armed
 servorum exterminavit civem, quem senatus, quem Romanus populus,
slaves expelled a citizen, whom the senate, whom the Roman people,
 quem omnes gentes judicarent conservatorem urbis ac
whom all nations had judged to be the saviour of Rome and of the
 vitæ civium; eum quidedit, ademittit regna, partitus
lives of her citizens; the man who gave and took away kingdoms, who shared
 est orbem terrarum quibuscum voluit; eum qui,
the whole world with whomever it pleased him; the man who,
 factis plurimis cædibus in foro, compulit civem
after committing many murders in the forum, drove a citizen
 singulari virtute et gloria domum vi et armis;
of distinguished virtue and glory to his own house by violence and arms;
 eum cui nihil fuit unquam nefas nec in facinore
the man to whom nothing was ever unholy either in the way of crime
 nec libidine; eum qui incendit ædem Nympharum,
or guilty passion; the man who set on fire the temple of the Nymphs,
 ut extingueret publicam memoriam recensionis impressam
to cancel the public record of that vote of censure entered on
 publicis tabulis; denique, eum cui erat jam nulla lex, nullum
the public registers; in fact, the man who acknowledged no law, no
 civile jus, nulli fines possessionum; qui petebat fundos
civil rights, no limits of possessions; the man who sought to gain the estates
 alienos non calumnia litium, non injustis vindiciis ac sacramentis,
of other men not by legal quibbles, not by unjust claims and oaths,

sed castris, exercitu, inferendis signis; qui conatus est
but by camps, by an army, by the advance of troops; the man who attempted
 pellere possessionibus non solum Etruscos (enim penitus
to oust from their properties not only the Etrusci (for he thoroughly
 contempserat eos), sed hunc P. Varium, civem fortissimum
despised them), but yonder man, Publius Varius, a citizen of distinguished-
 atque optimum, nostrum judicem, armis castrisque;
courage and honesty, and our judge, by arms and camp; the man
 qui cum architectis et decempedis peragrabat villas
who with his builders and surveyors' rods trespassed through the villas
 hortosque multorum; qui terminabat spem suarum
and gardens of many; the man who bounded the hopes of his
 possessionum Janiculo et Alpibus; qui, quum
possessions by the Janiculum and the Alps; the man who, when he could
 non impetrasset ab splendido et forti Romano equite, M.
not prevail on that distinguished and brave Roman knight, Marcus
 Paconio, ut venderet sibi insulam in Lacu Prilio, repente
Paconius, to sell him an island in Lake Prilius, without warning
 convexit lintribus in eam insulam materiam, calcem, cæmenta,
conveyed over in boats to that island timber, lime, heavy stones,
 atque arma, dominoque inspectante trans ripam,
and implements, and whilst the owner looked on from the opposite bank,
 non dubitavit extruere ædificium in alieno;
he did not scruple to build himself a mansion on another man's ground;
 quid huic Furfanio? cui viro! (enim
what said Clodius to Furfanius? and what a man Furfanius was! (for
 quid ego dicam de muliercula Scantia, quid
why need I say anything about that unimportant woman Scantia, or
 de adolescente P. Aponio? utrique quorum minitatus est
that stripling Publius Aponius? each of whom he threatened with
 mortem nisi cesserant possessione hortorum sibi), sed
death unless they gave up the ownership of their gardens to him), but
 ausus est dicere Furfanio si non dedisset sibi quantam
he did dare to say to Furfanius that if he did not send him as much
 pecuniam poposcerat, se illaturum mortuum in ejus domum,
money as he had demanded, he would bring a dead man into his house,
 qua invidia conflagrandum esset huic,
that owing to this odium he would stir up popular indignation against him,
 tali viro; qui dejecit absentem fratrem Appium,
such a man as he was; the man who ejected in his absence his brother Appius,

hominem conjunctum mihi gratia fidissima, de possessione
a man bound to me by most grateful devotion, from the possession
 fundi; qui instituit ducere parietem sic
of his estate; the man who planned to build a party-wall in such a way right-
 per sororis vestibulum, agere fundamenta sic
through his sister's entrance-court, and to form the foundations in such a way
 ut privaret sororem non modo vestibulo, sed aditu
that he would deprive his sister not only of the entrance-court, but the approach
 et limine omnino.
and threshold altogether.

XXVIII. Quamquam hæc quidem jam videbantur tolerabilia,
Although this, indeed, now seemed endurable,
 etsi irruerat æqualiter in rempublicam, in privatos,
notwithstanding that it fell equally on the state, on private persons,
 in longinquos, in propinquos, in alienos, in suos; sed nescio
on people far and near, on strangers and friends; but somehow-
 quomodo incredibilis patientia civitatis jam obduruerat et
or-other the marvellous endurance of the state had already grown hard and
 percalluerat usu. Vero quo modo potuissetis
callous through habit. But in what way would you have been able
 aut depellere aut ferre quæ jam aderant et impendebant?
either to thrust off or to endure what was already present or threatening?
 Si ille erat nactus imperium—omitto socios, exterarum nationes,
If he had obtained power— I say nothing of allies, foreign tribes,
 reges, tetrarchas, enim faceretis vota ut
kings and petty princes, for you would have been forming wishes that
 immitteret se in eos, potius quam in vestras possessiones,
he should let himself loose on them, rather than on your property,
 vestra tecta, vestras pecunias: pecunias dico? Mediusfidius,
your houses, and your money: money do I say? Nay, rather,
 ille nunquam cohibuisset suas effrenatas libidines a vestris
he would never have restrained his unbridled lust from your
 liberis et conjugibus. Putatis hæc fingi, quæ
children and wives. Do you think that this is an invention, this which
 patent omnibus, quæ sunt nota omnibus, quæ tenentur?
is open to all, this which is known to everybody, which is confirmed?
 illum fuisse conscripturum exercitus servorum in urbe, per
that he would have levied hosts of slaves in the city, by

quos possideret totam rempublicam, privatasque
means of whom he might take possession of the whole state, and the private
 res omnium? Quamobrem, si T. Annius tenens
property of all men? Wherefore, if Titus Annius holding

cruentum gladium clamaret, "Adeste, cives, quæso, atque
a blood-stained sword were to cry out, "Be present, citizens, I pray, and
 audite: interfeci P. Clodium; ejus furores, quos poteramus
listen: I have slain Publius Clodius; his raging madness, which we could

jam frenare nullis legibus, nullis judiciis, hoc ferro et hac
by this time restrain by no laws, by no courts, with this steel and this
 dextera repuli a vestris cervicibus, ut per me unum
right hand I have thrust off from your necks, that through me alone
 jus, æquitas, leges, libertas, pudor, pudicitia manerent in
justice, equity, laws, freedom, modesty, and virtue might remain in
 civitate:?" esset timendum vero quonam modo civitas
the state:?" there would be a fear, I suppose, as to how the state

ferret id. Enim quis est nunc qui non probet, non
would take it. For who is there at this time that does not approve of and
 laudet? qui non dicat et sentiat T. Annium plurimum
praise him? who does not say and feel that Titus Annius has most
 profuisse rei publicæ post memoriam hominum, affecisse Romanum
profited the state within the memory of man, and struck the Roman
 populum, cunctam Italiam, omnes nationes, maxima lætitia?
people, and all Italy, and all nations, with the greatest joy?

Nequeo judicare quanta fuerint illa gaudia vetera Romani
I am unable to decide how great was the joy felt of old by the Roman
 populi. Tamen nostra ætas jam vidit multas clarissimas
people. Yet our age has already seen many most brilliant
 victorias summorum imperatorum, nulla quorum attulit
victories of the greatest generals, none of which has produced
 lætitiæ neque tam diuturnam nec tantam. Mandate hoc memoriæ,
a joy either so lasting or so great. Bear this in mind,

judices. Spero vos vestrosque liberos esse visuros multa bona
judges. I hope that you and your children will see much prosperity
 in republica; in singulis his semper ita existimebitis,
in the state; and in each one of these you will always have this thought,

P. Clodio vivo vos fuisse visuros nihil eorum. Sumus
that if Publius Clodius had lived you would have seen none of them. We have-
 adducti in maximam, et, quemadmodum confido,
been-brought to entertain the greatest, and, as I trust,

verissimam spem, hunc ipsum annum, consule hoc summo
the truest hope, that this very year, in the consulship of this great
 viro ipso, fore salutarem civitati, compressa licentia
man himself, will be beneficial to the state by crushing the licentiousness
 hominum, factis cupiditatibus, constitutis legibus et judiciis.
of people, breaking up their lust, and establishing the laws and the courts.
 Num est igitur quis tam demens qui arbitretur hoc potuisse
Is there, then, anyone so foolish as to think that this could
 contingere vivo P. Clodio? Quid? quod jus
have happened in the lifetime of Publius Clodius? Again, what right
 perpetuæ possessionis potuissent ea privata quæ tenetis
of lasting ownership could those private possessions which you hold
 vestra habere dominante furioso homine?
as your own have had so long as a madman held sway?

XXIX. Non timeo, iudices, ne inflammatus odio mearum
I am not afraid, judges, that inflamed by the hate of my
 inimicitiarum, videar evomere hæc in illum liben-
animosity, I shall seem to launch these invectives against him with more
 tiam quam verius. Etenim, etsi meum odium debebat
eagerness than truth. For, indeed, although my hatred ought
 esse præclarum, tamen ille erat ita communis hostis omnium,
to have been specially great, yet he was such a common enemy to all,
 ut pæne æqualiter versaretur in communi odio. Quantum
that it was almost equally balanced in the general hatred. What depth
 sceleris, quantum exitii fuerit in illo non potest satis
of crime and perdition there was in that man cannot be adequately
 dici, ne quidem cogitari. Quin attendite sic, iudices.
described, or even contemplated. However, look at it in this way, judges.
 Hæc est nempe quæstio de interitu P. Clodii. Fingite
This is, you know, an investigation into the demise of Publius Clodius. Imagine
 animis (enim nostræ cogitationes sunt liberæ, et intuentur
in your minds (for our thoughts are free, and they regard
 quæ volunt, sic ut cernimus ea quæ videmus), fingite, igitur
what they wish, just as we discern those things which we see), imagine, then,
 cogitatione imaginem hujus conditionis meæ: si possim efficere
in thought, a picture of this stipulation of mine: if I could bring about
 ut absolvatis Milonem, sed ita; si P. Clodius
your acquittal of Milo, but on these terms; that Publius Clodius should-

revixerit; quid extimulistis vultu? Quonam modo
come-to-life-again; why have you shown fear in your face? How

ille afficeret vos vivus quos percussit mortuus inani
would he affect you in life whom he has startled after death by bare
 cogitatione? Quid? si Cn. Pompeius, qui est ea virtute ac
imagination? Again, if Cneius Pompeius, who has such valour and
 fortuna ut semper potuerit ea quæ nemo præter eum;
good fortune that he has always been able to do what none but he could do;
 si is, inquam, potuisset aut ferre quæstionem de morte
if he, I say, had been able either to institute an investigation into the death

P. Clodii, aut excitare ipsum ab inferis, utrum
of Publius Clodius, or to bring him up from the lower regions, which
 putatis potius facturum fuisse? Etiamsi propter
do you think he would rather have done? Why, although on account
 amicitiam vellet revocare illum ab inferis, propter
of his friendship he would wish to recall him from the shades, for the safety of
 rempublicam non fecisset. Igitur sedetis ultores
the state he would not have done so. And so you are sitting as avengers

ejus mortis, cujus vitam nolitis restitui si putetis
of his death, whose life you would not wish to be restored if you thought

posse per vos; et quæstio est lata
that it could be restored through you; and an investigation has been instituted

de nece ejus cujus si posset reviviscere
into the murder of that man, in whose case, if he could come to life again

eadem lege, lex nunquam esset lata. Ergone
by the same law, the law would never have been brought forward. Should then

qui esset hujus interfector timeret pœnam in confitendo ab
he who was this man's slayer fear punishment in confession from

iis quos liberavisset? Homines Græci tribuunt deorum
those whom he had freed? The men of Greece assign godlike

honores iis viris qui necaverunt tyrannos. Quæ ego vidi
honours to those heroes who have slain tyrants. What things I have seen

Athenis! quæ in aliis urbibus Græciæ! Quas divinas res
at Athens! and in other cities of Greece! What divine attributes

institutas talibus viris! Quos cantus! Quæ carmina! Consecrantur
given to such men! What strains! What peans! They are deified

ad religionem et memoriam prope immortalitatis. Vos
with the sanctity and the memorials of almost immortal beings. And will you,

conservatorem tanti populi ultorem tanti
in the case of the saviour of so great a nation, and the avenger of so great

sceleris, non modo afficietis nullis honoribus, sed etiam
a crime, not only present him with no . honours, but even
 patiemini rapi ad supplicium? Confiteretur, confiteretur,
allow him to be dragged off to punishment? He would own, he would own,
 inquam, si fecisset, se fecisse magno animo et
I say, if he had done it, that he had done it with a stout heart and
 libenter caussa omnium libertatis; quod certe non
a ready mind for the sake of general freedom—a deed which surely should not
 inodo confitendum, verum etiam prædicandum.
only be owned, but even enlarged upon.

XXX. Etenim, si non negat id ex quo petit nihil
For, indeed, if he does not deny a deed from which he seeks nothing
 nisi ut ignoscatur, dubitaret fateri id ex quo etiam præmia
but pardon, would he hesitate to confess an act from which further rewards
 laudis essent petenda? nisi vero putat esse gratius
of honour were to be sought? unless indeed he thinks that it is more pleasing
 vobis se fuisse defensorem sui capitis quam
to you that he should have been the defender of his own life rather than
 vestri: præsertim quum in ea confessione, si velletis
of yours; especially when in that act of confession, if you were willing
 esse grati, assequeretur amplissimos honores. Si factum
to show your gratitude, he would attain the highest honours. If the deed
 non probaretur vobis (quanquam qui poterat cuicumque
were not approved of by you (although, how can any man
 non probari sua salus?), sed tamen si virtus fortissimi
help approving of his own safety?), but yet if the valour of the bravest
 viri cecidisset minus grata civibus, cederet ex
of men should have proved displeasing to the citizens, he would retire from
 ingrata civitate magno animo constantique. Nam quid
an ungrateful state with great courage and confidence. For what
 esset ingratus quam ceteros lætari, eum solum
could be more ungrateful than that all the rest should rejoice, whilst he alone
 lugere propter quem ceteri lætarentur? Quanquam omnes
is in grief through whom the rest made joyful? Although all
 semper fuimus hoc animo in opprimendis proditoribus
of us have always had this feeling in crushing the traitors
 patriæ, ut; quoniam gloria esset futura nostra, putaremus
of our country, that, since the glory was to be ours, we considered

periculum et invidiam nostram quoque. Nam mihi ipsi quæ
the danger and the prejudice ours also. For, in my own case, what
 laus esset tribuenda, quum essem tantum ausus in meo
credit should have been given me, when I had made so great a venture in my
 consulatu pro vobis ac vestris liberis, si arbitrarer me esse
consulship for you and your children, if I thought that I should
 ausurum quod conabar sine maximis dimicationibus meis?
venture on my enterprise without the greatest struggle on my own part?

Quæ mulier non auderet occidere sceleratum ac perniciosum
What woman would not venture to kill a criminal and dangerous
 civem si timeret non periculum? Invidia, morte, pœna
citizen if she feared no danger? But when prejudice, death, and punishment

proposita, is, qui defendit rempublicam nihilo segnus,
stand before one, he who defends the state with no less vigour on that

est putandus vere vir. Est grati populi
account must be considered truly a hero. It is the duty of a grateful nation
 afficere præmiis cives meritos bene de republica;

to present with rewards citizens who have deserved well of the state; it is the
 fortis viri ne moveri quidem suppliciis, ut pœniteat
duty of a brave man not to be affected even by punishment, so as to regret

fortiter fecisse. Quamobrem T. Annii uteretur eadem
a brave deed. Wherefore Titus Annius would employ the same

confessione qua Ahala, Nasica, Opimius, Marius, nosmet ipsi; et si
confession as Ahala, Nasica, Opimius, Marius, and ourselves; and if

respublica esset grata lætaretur, si ingrata tamen
the state were grateful he would rejoice, and if ungrateful he would yet

in gravi fortuna niteretur conscientia sua. Sed,
in his serious misfortune be supported by the consciousness of his own merit. But,

judices, fortuna Romani populi, et vestra felicitas, et immortales
judges, the fortune of the Roman people, and your prosperity, and the immortal

dii, putant gratiam hujus beneficii deberi sibi. Nec vero
gods, think that gratitude for this good deed is due to them. Nor, indeed,

potest quisquam arbitrari aliter nisi qui ducit esse nullam
can anyone think otherwise unless he deems that there is no

divinum vim numenve; quem neque magnitudo nostri
divine force or will; and such a man neither the greatness of our

imperii, neque ille sol, nec motus cœli signorumque, nec
empire, nor yonder sun, nor the motions of the celestial bodies, nor

vicissitudines rerum atque ordines movent, neque—
the changes and chances of life and its different orders affect, nor—

id quod est maximum— sapientia nostrorum majorum, qui
which is the chief point— the wisdom of our ancestors, who
 sanctissime coluerunt ipsi sacra, cæremonias,
had a most holy regard themselves for sacred rites and ceremonies and
 auspicia, et prodiderunt nobis suis posteris.
auspices, and have handed them down to us their posterity.

XXXI. Est, est profecto illa vis, neque inest
There is, there is indeed, that power, nor is there inherent
 quidquam in his corporibus atque in hac imbecillitate nostra, quod
anything in these bodies, and in this weakness of ours, which
 vigeat et sentiat, et non inest in hoc tanto tam præclaro
acts and feels, without its being also inherent in this great and glorious
 motu naturæ; nisi forte putant non esse
movement of nature; unless, perchance, they think that it does not exist on
 idcirco, quia non apparet, nec cernitur; proinde quasi
this account, because it does not appear, and is not seen; just as if with
 nostram mentem ipsam, qua sapimus, qua providemus,
regard to our mind itself, by which we have wisdom and foresight,
 qua agimus ac dicimus hæc ipsa, possimus videre aut sentire
and by which we do and say these very things, we could see or feel
 plane qualis aut ubi sit. Ea ipsa vis igitur, quæ sæpe attulit
clearly its character or place. That very power, then, which has often brought
 incredibiles felicitates atque opes huic urbi, exstinxit ac sustulit
wondrous prosperity and wealth to this city, has destroyed and removed
 illam perniciem cui primum injecit mentem, ut auderet irritare
that bane into which it first inspired a mind, to venture to chafe
 vi lacessereque ferro fortissimum virum,
by violence and to provoke with the sword the bravest of men,
 vincereturque ab eo, quem si vicisset, esset habiturus
and was conquered by him, over whom if he had been victor, he would have had
 sempiternam impunitatem et licentiam. Illa res est non
everlasting impunity and licence. That matter was not
 perfecta humano consilio, judices, ne quidem mediocri
accomplished by any human plan, judges, nor, indeed, by any slight
 cura immortalium deorum. Mehercule, ipsæ religiones quæ
care of the immortal gods. Indeed, those very sacred spots which
 viderunt illam belluam cadere videntur commovisse se et
saw that monster fall seem to have roused themselves, and

retinuisse suum jus in illo. Enim jam imploro atque
to have maintained their rights over him. For I now entreat and

obtestor vos, Albani tumuli atque luci, vosque, obrutæ aræ
appeal to you, Alban mounds and groves, and to you, uprooted altars

Albanorum, sociæ et æquales sacrorum Romani
of the Albans, allies and cotemporaries of the sacred rights of the Roman

populi, quas ille præceps amentia, cæsis prostratisque
people, which he in his headlong madness, after felling and levelling down

sanctissimis lucis, oppresserat insanis molibus
to the ground the most sacred groves, had overwhelmed with outrageous masses

substructionum. Vestræ aræ, vestræ religiones viguerunt tum;
of excavations. Your altars and your sanctity flourished at that time;

vestra vis valuit quam ille polluerat omni scelere;
your power was strong which he had defiled with every kind of crime;

tuque ex tuo edito monte, sancte Jupiter Latiaris, cujus lacus,
and thou from thy lofty height, holy Jupiter of Latium, whose lakes,

nemora, finesque sæpe macularat omni nefario stupro
and groves, and territories, he had often defiled with every villainous incest

et scelere, aliquando aperuisti oculos ad puniendum eum; illæ
and crime, hast at length opened thy eyes to punish him; the

pœnæ, seræ, sed tamen justæ et debitæ, sunt solutæ vobis in
penalty, late, indeed, but yet just and due, has been paid to you in

vestro conspectu. Nisi forte dicemus hoc etiam esse factum
your sight. Unless, perchance, we shall say that this also happened

casu, ut quum commisisset prælium ante ipsum
by accident, that when he had commenced the engagement in front of the very

sacrarium Deæ Bonæ, quod est in fundo T. Sextii
shrine of the Goddess of Fortune, which is on the estate of Titius Sextius

Galli, in primis honesti et ornati adolescentis, ante
Gallus, a pre-eminently honourable and accomplished young man, in front,

inquam ipsam Deam Bonam, acceperit illud primum vulnus
I say, of that very Goddess of Fortune, he received that first wound

quo obiret tæterrimam mortem; ut videretur non
by which he met a most ghastly death; so that he seemed not to have been

absolutus illo nefario iudicio, sed reservatus ad hanc insigne
acquitted by that wicked decision, but to have been reserved for this marked

pœnam.
punishment.

XXXII. Necnon vero eadem ira deorum iniecit ejus
Moreover, indeed, this same anger of the gods inspired his
 satellitibus hanc amentiam, ut sine imaginibus, sine
followers with such madness, that without any busts, without funeral
 cantu atque ludis, sine exsequiis, sine lamentis, sine
strains or games, without burial rites, without lamentation, without
 laudationibus, sine funere, oblitus cruore et luto, spoliatus
a panegyric, in short, without a funeral, smeared with gore and mud, and deprived
 celebritate ejus supremi diei, quam etiam inimici solent concedere,
of the honours of that last day, which even enemies are wont to grant,

abjectus ambureretur. Non credo fuisse fas
he was cast out and half scorched. I do not think that it was allowed-by-

formas clarissimorum virorum afferre aliquid decoris
the gods that the figures of most illustrious men should convey any lustre

illi tæterrimo parricidæ; neque ejus mortem lacerari
to that most abominable murderer; or that his dead body should be torn

potius in ullo loco quam in quo vita esset damnata. Dura,
more violently in any other place than where his life was condemned. Hard

mediusfidius, mihi, et crudelis fortuna Romani populi jam
indeed, to me, and cruel did the fortune of the Roman people now

videbatur, quæ videret et pateretur illum insultare hanc
seem, which looked on and suffered him to mock this

republicam tot annos. Polluerat stupro sanctissimas
state, for so many years. He had defiled with incest the most sacred

religiones; perfregerat gravissima decreta senatus;
rites; he had broken through the most weighty decrees of the senate;

redemerat se palam pecunia a iudicibus; vexarat
he had obtained his ransom by open bribes from the judges; he had harassed

senatum in tribunatu; resciderat gesta pro salute
the senate in his tribuneship; he had repealed what had been done for the good

reipublicæ consensu omnium ordinum; expulerat me
of the state with the consent of all ranks; he had banished me

patria; diripuerat bona; incenderat domum; vexaverat
from my country, plundered my property, burnt my house, and harassed

liberos, meam conjugem; indixerat nefarium bellum
my children and my wife; had proclaimed an infamous war against

Cn. Pompeio; fecerat cædes magistratuum privatorumque;
Cneius Pompeius; had brought about the murder of magistrates and private persons;

incenderat domum mei fratris; vastarat Etruriam; ejecerat
had set fire to the house of my brother; had ravaged Etruria; had ousted

multos sedibus ac fortunis; instabat, urgebat:
many from their settlements and their fortunes; kept pressing and hurrying on:
 civitas, Italia, provinciæ, regna poterant non capere
whilst the state, Italy, the provinces and principalities could not place bounds to
 ejus amentiam; leges jam incidebantur domi quæ nos
his madness; and laws were now being enacted at home to put us
 addicerent nostris servis: erat nihil cujusquam,
into the power of our slaves; whilst there was nothing belonging to anyone,
 ille quidem adamasset quod, quod non putaret fore suum
if he, indeed, had taken a fancy to it, which he did not think would be his
 hoc anno. Nemo obstabat ejus cogitationibus præter
in the course of this year. No one opposed his ideas but
 Milonem. Illum ipsum qui poterat obstare arbitrabatur
Milo. That very man who was able to oppose him he considered
 devinctum quasi novo reditu in gratiam; dicebat
bound to him, as it were, by a fresh return to favour; whilst he declared
 potentiam Cæsaris esse suam; contempserat etiam animos
that the influence of Cæsar was his own; he had despised also the feelings
 bonorum in meo casu: Milo unus
of the better classes in the case of my banishment, and Milo alone
 urgebat.
pressed him hard.

XXXIII. Hic immortales dii, ut dixi supra, dederant
At this point the immortal gods, as I said before, gave
 mentem illi perditō ac furioso ut faceret insidias
the idea to that abandoned madman to lay a snare for our
 huic. Non aliter potuit illa pestis perire; res publica
friend here. In no other way could that plague-spot perish; the state
 esset nunquam ulta illum suo jure. Senatus,
would never have taken vengeance on him by its own right. The senate,
 credo, circumscripsisset eum prætorem. Ne
I suppose, would have kept him within bounds as prætor. Why, it had not
 quidem aliquid profecerat quum solebat in
even had any success when it was accustomed to do so in the case of
 hoc eodem privato. An consules fuissent fortes in
this same man in private life. Would the consuls have been strong in
 coercendo prætore? Primum, Milone occiso,
restraining the prætor? In the first place, if Milo had been slain, he

habuisset suos consules. Deinde quis esset fortis consui
would have had his own consuls. In the next place, who could be a strong consul
 in eo prætor, meminisset per quem
while that man was prætor, when he remembered that by means of him
 tribunum consularem virtutem esse crudelissime vexatam ?
when tribune a consul's virtue had been most cruelly harassed ?

Opressisset omnia, possideret ; teneret
He would have crushed everything, and be now in possession of it, and hold it
 nova lege, quæ est inventa apud eum cum reliquis Clodianis
by a new law, which was found on him with the rest of the Clodian
 legibus ; fecisset nostros servos suos libertos. Postremo,
laws, and would have made our slaves his own freedmen. Lastly,

nisi immortales dii impulissent eum in eam mentem, ut
unless the immortal gods had inspired him with this idea, to
 conaretur occidere fortissimum virum, effeminatus
attempt to slay a most gallant man, being himself an effeminate
 homo, haberetis nullam rempublicam hodie. An ille
creature, you would have no state at all to-day. Would he

prætor, ille vero consul, si modo hæc templa atque ipsa mœnia
as prætor, and above all as consul, if only these temples and these very walls
 potuissent stare tamdiu eo vivo, et expectare ejus con-
could have stood so long during his lifetime, and have awaited his con-
 sulatum, ille denique fecisset nihil mali vivus, qui
sulship, would he, in short, have done no evil in his life, when after his
 mortuus incenderit curiam duce uno ex suis
death he set fire to the senate house through the instrumentality of one of his

satellitibus Sex. Clodio ? Quid vidimus miserius,
followers, Sextus Clodius ? What have we seen more wretched, more full-of-
 acerbius, luctuosius quo ? templum sanctitatis, amplitudinis,
bitterness and grief than this ? the temple of holiness, dignity,
 mentis, publici consilii, caput urbis, aram sociorum,
reason, and public counsel, the chief seat in the city, the altar of the allies,

portum omnium gentium, sedem concessam ab universo
and the harbour of all nations, a seat granted by the whole of the
 Romano populo uni ordini, inflammari, excindi, funestari ! id
Roman people to one order, set on fire, destroyed, and polluted ! and that

neque fieri a imperita multitudo, quanquam id ipsum esset
not done by an ignorant mob, although that, indeed, were
 miserum, sed ab uno ! Quum qui ustor sit
wretched enough, but by one man ! And when he as a corpse burner has

ausus tantum pro mortuo, quid esset non ausus
dared so bold a deed for him when dead, what would he not have dared
 signifer pro vivo? Potissimum abiecit in
as standard-bearer for him in life? But above all he cast him out into
 curiam, ut incenderet mortuus eam quam
the senate house, that he might set fire after death to that house which
 everterat vivus. Et sunt qui querantur de Appia
he had overthrown in life. And are there those who complain about the Appian
 via, taceant de curia? et qui putent forum
Road and say nothing about the senate house? and who think that the forum
 potuisse defendi ab eo spirante, curia non
could have been protected by him during his life, when the senate house could not
 restiterit ejus cadaveri? Excitate eum si potestis ab inferis.
withstand his dead body? Call him up if you can from the shades.

Frangetis impetum vivi, vix sustinetis ejus furias
Could you crush his impulse in life, when you can scarce endure his rage
 insepulti? nisi vero sustinuistis eos qui cucurrerunt ad
as he lies unburied? unless, indeed, you withstood those who rushed to
 curiam cum facibus, ad Castoris cum falcibus,
the senate house with torches, and to the temple of Castor with hooked poles,
 volitarunt toto foro cum gladiis. Vidistis Romanum
and flitted about the whole forum with swords. You saw the Roman
 populum cædi, concionem disturbari gladiis, cum
people slaughtered, and a public meeting interrupted with swords, when
 M. Cælius, tribunus plebis, audiretur silentio; vir
Marcus Cælius, tribune of the people, was being listened to in silence; a man
 et fortissimus in publica re et firmissimus in re
both very brave in public life and very strong in a cause which he had
 suscepta, deditus voluntati bonorum, et
undertaken, who was devoted to the wishes of the better classes, and
 auctoritati senatus, et in hac Milonis, sive invidia sive
to the influence of the senate, and in this case of Milo, be it a case of envy or of
 singulari fortuna, divina et incredibili fide.
extraordinary fortune, a man of more than human and wondrous good faith.

XXXIV. Sed satis multa jam de causa, extra causam etiam
But enough now about the case, beside the case also
 fortasse nimis multa. Quid restat nisi ut orem obtesterque
perhaps too much. What remains but for me to entreat and appeal

vos, judices, ut tribuatis eam misericordiam fortissimo viro
to you, judges, to show that compassion to the bravest of men
 quam non implorat ipse, ego et imploro et exposco
which he does not beg himself, but which I both beg and demand
 etiam hoc repugnante? Nolite, si aspexistis nullam
even in the teeth of his opposition? Do not, if you have seen no
 lacrymam Milonis in omnium nostro fletu, si videtis
tear from Milo in the midst of all our weeping, if you see
 vultum semper eundem, si vocem, si orationem stabilem ac
his face still the same, his voice, and speech steady and
 non mutatam, parcere ei minus hoc. Atque haud scio an
unchanged, spare him less on this account. I rather think that
 sit etiam multo magis adjuvandus. Etenim, si
he is on this account even much more to be assisted. For, indeed, if
 in gladiatorii pugnâ, et in conditione et fortuna intimi generis
in gladiatorial combats, and in the estate and condition of the lowest class
 hominum, solemus etiam odisse timidos et supplices et
of men, we are wont even to hate the timid and suppliant who
 obsecrantes ut liceat vivere; cupimus fortes et animosos
entreat permission to live, whilst we desire that the brave and courageous
 et acriter offerentes se morti servari; nosque magis
who gallantly offer themselves to death should be saved; and we show more
 miseret eorum qui non requirunt nostram misericordiam quam
pity for those who do not need our compassion than
 qui efflagitant eam; quanto magis debemus facere hoc in
for those who importune it; how much the more should we do this in
 fortissimis civibus! Me quidem, judices, hæ voces
the case of the bravest citizens! Me, indeed, judges, those speeches
 Milonis quas assidue audio, et quibus quotidie intersum,
of Milo which I constantly hear, and at which I am daily present,
 exanimant et interimunt. "Mei cives valeant," inquit;
frighten and scare to death. "May my citizens flourish," says he; "may they
 "valeant, sint incolumes, sint florentes, sint beati; hæc præclara
flourish, be unscathed, be prosperous and happy; may this glorious
 urbs stet, patriæque carissima mihi, quoquo modo erit
city remain standing, and my country most dear to me, however it shall
 merita de me. Mei cives perfruantur sine me ipsi
have deserved of me. May my citizens enjoy without me by themselves
 (quoniam mihi licet non cum illis) republica tranquilla.
(since I may not enjoy it with them) a state in perfect peace.

Ego cedam atque abibo. Si mihi non licuerit frui bona
I will retire and go away. If I shall not be allowed to enjoy a good
 republica, at carebo mala; et quamprimum civitatem
state, at least I shall be free from a bad one; and the first constitution
 tetigero bene moratam et liberam, in ea conquiescam.
which I shall light upon of good morals and freedom, in that I shall rest.

O," inquit, "mei labores suscepti frustra! o fallaces
Alas," says he, "for my labours undertaken in vain! alas for my fallacious
 spes! o meæ inanes cogitationes! Cum ego tribunus plebis,
hopes! alas for my fruitless ideas! When I as tribune of the people, when
 republica oppressa, dedissem me senatui, quem acceperam
the state lay crushed, had given myself over to the senate, which I had received

extinctum, Romanis equitibus quorum vires erant
with its light quenched, and to the Roman knights whose strength was
 debiles, bonis viris qui abjecerant omnem auctoritatem armis
debilitated, good men who had surrendered all influence to the arms

Clodianis, putarem mihi unquam defuturum præsidium
of Clodius, could I think that I should ever be without the protection
 bonorum? Cum ego reddidissem te" (enim sæpissime loquitur
of the good? When I had restored you" (for he very often speaks

mecum) "patriæ, putarem futurum non locum
to me) "to your native land, could I think that there would be no place
 mihi in patriæ? Ubi est nunc senatus quem sumus
for me in my native land? Where is now the senate which we have

secuti? ubi illi Romani equites, illi tui?" inquit;
followed? where those Roman knights, those knights of yours?" he says;

"ubi studia municipiorum? ubi voces Italiæ? ubi
"where is the zeal of the free towns? where is the voice of Italy? where,

denique tua vox, M. Tulli, quæ fuit auxilio plurimis,
lastly, is your voice, Marcus Tullius, which has been a help to so many,

et defensio? Mihine, qui toties obtuli me morti pro
and your defence? Am I, I who so often have exposed myself to death for

te, soli nihil potest optulari?"
you, the only one that it cannot aid at all?"

XXXV. Hæc vero loquitur, iudices, nec ut ego nunc,
And this, indeed, he utters, judges, not as I do now,

flens, sed hoc eodem vultu quo videtis. Enim
with tears, but with this same expression which you see him have. For

se fecisse quæ fecerit ingratis civibus negat; timidis,
that he has done what he has done for ungrateful citizens he denies; but for timid

circumspicientibus omnia pericula, non negat.
citizens, who peer anxiously round at every danger, this he does not deny.

Commemorat se fecisse suam plebem et infimam
He calls to mind that he gained over to his side the commons and the dregs

multitudinem quæ, duce P. Clodio, imminabat
of the people which, under the leadership of Publius Clodius, were threatening

vestris fortunis, quo vestra vita esset tutior; ut
your fortunes, in order that your life might be more secure; so that

non modo flecteret virtute, sed etiam deleniret suis tribus
he not only swayed it by his true worth, but also soothed it by his three

patrimoniis; nec timet ne cum placarit plebem suis
estates; and he does not fear that after appeasing the commons with his

muneribus non conciliarit vos singularibus meritis
gifts he shall fail to win you over by his conspicuous services

in rempublicam. Dicit benevolentiam senatus erga se
to the state. He says that the goodwill of the senate towards him

esse sæpe perspectam in his ipsis temporibus; vero se
has been often proved in these very times; and that he

ablaturum esse secum vestras occursationes et vestrorum
will carry away with him your courtesy and that of your

ordinum, studia, sermones, quemcunque cursum
order, your zeal, and your good words, whatever career

fortuna dederit. Meminit etiam vocem præconis
fortune shall assign to him. He remembers also that the voice of the herald

modo defuisse sibi, quam desiderarit minime, vero se
alone was wanting to him, which he missed very slightly, but that he was

declaratum consulem cunctis suffragiis populi—unum
declared consul by the unanimous vote of the people—the one thing

quod cupierit; nunc denique, si hæc arma sint futura
which he desired; and now, finally, if these weapons shall prove

contra se, suspicionem facinoris, non crimen facti,
to be against him, he says that suspicion of crime, and not a charge of actual

obstare sibi. Addit hæc, quæ certe sunt vera,
crime, faces him. He adds also this, which at any rate is true, that

fortes et sapientes viros solere sequi non tam præmia,
brave and wise men are wont to follow after not so much the rewards

recte factorum quam recte facta ipsa; se fecisse nihil
for good deeds as the good deeds themselves; that he has done nothing

in vita nisi præclarissime, si quidem sit nihil
in life but in the most creditable way, if, indeed, there is nothing
 præstabilius viro quam liberare patriam periculis;
more excellent in a man than to free his country from danger; that those
 esse beatos quibus ea res fuerit honori a suis
men are happy to whom such a deed has been made a credit by their fellow
 civibus, tamen eos nec miseros qui vicerint suos cives
citizens, and yet those are not wretched who have outdone their fellow citizens
 beneficio; sed tamen ex omnibus præmiis virtutis, si ratio esset
in kindness; but still of all the prizes of virtue, if account should
 habenda præmiorum, amplissimum præmium esse gloriam; hanc
be taken of prizes, the greatest of them is fame; for this
 esse unam quæ consolaretur brevitatem vitæ memoria
is the only thing which makes up for the shortness of life by the memory
 posteritatis, quæ efficeret ut adessemus absentes, viveremus
of after-ages, which causes us to be present though absent, and to be alive
 mortui; hanc esse denique, gradibus cujus homines viderentur
though dead; this it is in short, by the steps of which men seem
 ascendere in cælum. "Romanus populus," inquit, "omnes gentes
to climb even to heaven. "The Roman people," says he, "and all nations
 semper loquentur de me; nulla vetustas unquam
will ever speak of me; no time, however distant, will ever
 obmutescet. Quin hoc ipso tempore, cum omnes faces
be dumb about me. Nay, at this very moment, when every firebrand
 subjiuntur meæ invidiæ a meis inimicis, tamen in omni cœtu
is being applied to my prejudice by my enemies, yet in every assembly
 hominum agendis gratiis, habendis gratulationibus, et
of people in the act of thanksgiving, in the offering of congratulations, and
 in omni sermone celebramur." Omitto festos
in all manner of conversation we are honoured." I say nothing of the festal
 dies Etruriæ et actos et institutos.
days in Etruria, those that have been spent, and those that have been appointed.
 Hæc est centesima dies ex Clodii interitu; et (opinor) non solum
This is the hundredth day since Clodius' death; and I think not only
 ea fama, sed etiam lætitia, peragravit ultra quam fines imperii
that rumour, but also delight, has penetrated beyond the limits of the empire
 Romani populi. "Quamobrem non laboro," inquit, "ubi
of the Roman people. "Wherefore I am not anxious," says he, "as to where

hoc corpus sit, quoniam gloria mei nominis jam versatur,
this body of mine is, since the fame of my name is now noised abroad,
 et semper habitabit in omnibus terris."
and will always dwell in all lands."

XXXVI. Hæc tu sæpe mecum, Milo, absentibus
This is what you have often said to me, Milo, in the absence
 his; sed ego hæc tecum iisdem audientibus. Te quidem,
of these people, but I say this to you in their hearing. You, indeed,
 cum es isto animo, non possum laudare satis: sed quo
when you are of this mind, I cannot praise enough: but in proportion
 ista virtus est magis divina, divellor a te majore
as your goodness is the more divine, I part away from you with the greater
 dolore. Nec vero, si eriperis mihi, est illa querela
grief. Nor, indeed, if you are snatched away from me, is that complaint
 reliqua saltem ad consolandum, ut possim irasci his a
left me at any rate for comfort, of being able to be angry with those from
 quibus accepero tantum vulnus. Enim non mei inimici
whom I shall have received so severe a blow. For it is not my enemies
 eripient te mihi, sed amicissimi; non
that will snatch you away from me, but my greatest friends, who have not
 aliquando meriti male de me, sed semper optime. Unquam
at any time deserved ill of me, but always excellently well. You will never
 inuretis mihi, iudices, nullum tantum dolorem (etsi quis potest esse
brand me, judges, with any so great grief (and yet what can be so
 tantus?), sed ne quidem hunc ipsum, ut obli-
great?), but you will not even brand me with this very grief, forget-
 viscar quanti semper feceritis me. Si quæ
fulness of the high esteem in which you have ever held me. And if this
 oblivio cepit vos, aut si aliquid offendistis
forgetfulness has taken hold of you, or if you have any fault to find
 in me, cur id non luitur in meo capite potius quam Milonis?
with me, why is it not visited on my head rather than Milo's?
 Enim vixero præclare si quid acciderit mihi
For I shall have lived a glorious life if anything shall have happened to me
 prius quam videro hoc tantum mali. Nunc una consolatio
before that I see this crowning ill. But now one comfort
 sustentat me, quod nullum officium amoris, studii, nullum
supports me, to think that no duty of love, zeal, nor

pietatis, defuit a me tibi, T. Anni. Pro te
affection, has been wanting on my part towards you, Titus Annius. For you
 ego appetivi inimicitias potentium: sæpe ego objeci
I have incurred the enmity of the powerful: often have I exposed
 meum corpus et vitam armis tuorum inimicorum: plurimis
my person and life to the arms of your foes: in many cases
 ego abjeci me supplicem pro te: contuli bona,
I have prostrated myself as a suppliant for you: I have given my property,
 meas fortunas ac meorum liberorum in communionem
my fortune and that of my children to share with you
 tuorum temporum: denique hoc ipso die, si qua vis est
in your time of need: in short, on this very day, if any violence has been
 parata, si est futura qua diminutio capitis, depono.
prepared, if there is to be any curtailing of civic rights, I demand-it-
 Quid jam restat? quid habeo quod dicam, quod
for-myself. What else is there left? what have I to say or to
 faciam, pro tuis meritis in me, nisi ut ducam meam
do, in consideration of your services to me, except to consider as my own
 eam fortunam quæcunque erit tua? Non recuso, non abnuo;
the fortune which shall fall to your lot? I do not refuse, or reject it;
 obsecroque vos, judices, aut ut augeatis vestra beneficia quæ
and I entreat you, judges, either to extend your kindness which
 contulistis in me in salute hujus, aut videatis esse
you have conferred on me in the preservation of this man, or to see that it will
 occasura in ejusdem exitio.
perish in his destruction.

XXXVII. Milo non movetur his lacrymis. Est
Milo is not affected by these tears. He is a man
 quodam incredibili robore animi; putat exsilium esse ibi ubi
of an extraordinary strength of mind; he thinks that exile is a place where
 sit non locus virtuti; mortem esse finem naturæ,
there is no room for virtue; and that death is the end of natural life,
 non pœnam. Hic sit ea mente qua est natus;
and not a punishment. Let him be of that mind with which he was born;
 quid vos, judices? quo animo tandem eritis? Retinebitis
but what of you, judges? of what spirit, pray, will you be? You will retain
 memoriam Milonis, ejicietis ipsum? et erit
the memory of Milo, and will you cast out the man himself? and will there be

locus in terris dignior qui excipiat hanc virtutem quam hic
any spot in the world more worthy of receiving this virtue than this

qui procreavit? Appello vos, fortissimi viri, qui effudistis
spot which begat it? I appeal to you, bravest of men, who have shed

multum sanguinem pro republica. Appello vos in periculo
much blood for the state. I appeal to you in the danger

virī et invicti civis, vos, centuriones, vosque, milites
of a hero and an unvanquished citizen, to you, officers, and to you, soldiers.

Hæc tanta virtus expelletur ex hac urbe vobis non modo
Shall this great virtue be banished from this state whilst you are not only

inspectantibus, sed etiam armatis et præsidentibus huic iudicio?
looking on, but even in arms and presiding over this trial?

exterminabitur? projicietur? O miserum
shall it be driven from our borders? shall it be cast forth? Woe is

me! o infelicem! Tu, Milo, potuisti revocare me in
me! unfortunate man that I am! You, Milo, were able to recall me to

patriam per hos; ego non potero retinere te in
my native land by means of these men, and shall I be unable to keep you in

patria per eosdem? Quid respondebo meis liberis,
the country by the same means? What answer shall I make to my children,

qui putant te alterum parentem? quid tibi, frater Quinte, qui
who consider you a second father? or what to you, brother Quintus, who

nunc abes, mecum consorti illorum temporum?
are now absent, my partner in those days of old? Shall I say that

Me non potuisse tueri salutem Milonis per eosdem quos ille
I was unable to secure the safety of Milo by the same means as he

nostram? At in qua causa non potuisse?
secured ours? But in what kind of a case was I unable to do so?

Quæ est grata gentibus. A quibus non potuisse?
In one which is popular amongst all. By whom was I unable to do so?

Ab iis qui maxime acquierunt morte P. Clodii. Quo
By those who especially acquiesced in the death of Publius Clodius. By whose

deprecante? Me. Quodnam tantum scelus ego concepi, aut
pleading? By mine. What so great a crime have I conceived, or

quod tantum facinus admisi in me, iudices, cum indagavi,
what so great misdeed have I committed, judges, in tracking,

patefeci, protuli, extinxi illa indicia communis exitii?
revealing, exposing, and destroying those marks of a common plague-spot

Omnes dolores redundant in me meosque ex illo
All my sorrows have redounded on myself and my family from that

fonte. Quid voluistis me reducem? An ut me inspec-
source. Why did you wish me to return? Was it that before my very
 tante ii per quos essem restitutus expellerentur? Nolite,
eyes those by whom I had been restored might be banished? Do not,
 obsecro vos, pati reditum esse acerbiores mihi quam ille discessus
I beg you, allow my return to be more painful to me than that departure
 ipse; nam qui possum putare me esse restitutum, si
itself was; for how can I think that I have been restored, if
 distrahor ab iis per quos sum restitutus?
I am torn asunder by those through whom I was restored?

XXXVIII. Utinam immortales dii fecissent

Would that the immortal gods had brought it to pass (with
 (tua pace, patria, dixerim, enim metuo ne dicam
your permission, my country, I would say it, for I am anxious not to say
 scelerate in te quod dicam pie pro Milone),—
with impiety towards you what I say with dutiful affection on behalf of Milo),—
 utinam P. Clodius non modo viveret, sed esset etiam
would that Publius Clodius were not only living, but were even
 prætor, consul, dictator, potius quam viderem hoc spectaculum!
prætor, consul, or dictator, rather than that I should see this sight!
 Virum, o immortales dii, fortem et conser-
A man, by the immortal gods, of gallant bravery, and worthy of your
 vandum, iudices! “Minime, minime,” inquit: “immo vero ille
preservation, judges! “Not at all, not at all,” says he: “nay rather, let Clodius
 luerit pœnas debitas; nos subeamus, si ita necesse est,
have paid the penalty due; and let us undergo, if so it must be,
 non debitas.” Hiccinne vir, natus patriæ, morietur
one that is not due.” Shall this man, a native of this country, die
 usquam nisi in patria, aut, si forte, pro patria? Retine-
anywhere but in his native land, or, if so it happen, for his native land? You will
 bitis monumenta hujus animi, patiemini esse nullum
keep memorials of his mind, and will you allow there to be no
 sepulchrum corporis in Italia? Quisquam sua sententia expellet
tomb of his body in Italy? Will anyone by his vote banish
 ex hac urbe quem expulsum a vobis omnes urbes vocabunt
from this city a man whom, when banished by you, all cities will summon
 ad se? O beatam illam terram quæ exceperit hunc virum!
to them? Happy is the land which shall have received this hero!

Ingratam hanc si ejecerit! Miseram si amiserit!
Ungrateful is this land if it shall cast him out! Wretched if it shall have lost

Sed sit finis. Enim possum neque jam loqui præ
him! But let us make an end. For I can no longer speak for

lacrymis, et hic vetat defendi se lacrymis. Oro obtestorque
tears, and he forbids defence of himself by tears. I beg and entreat

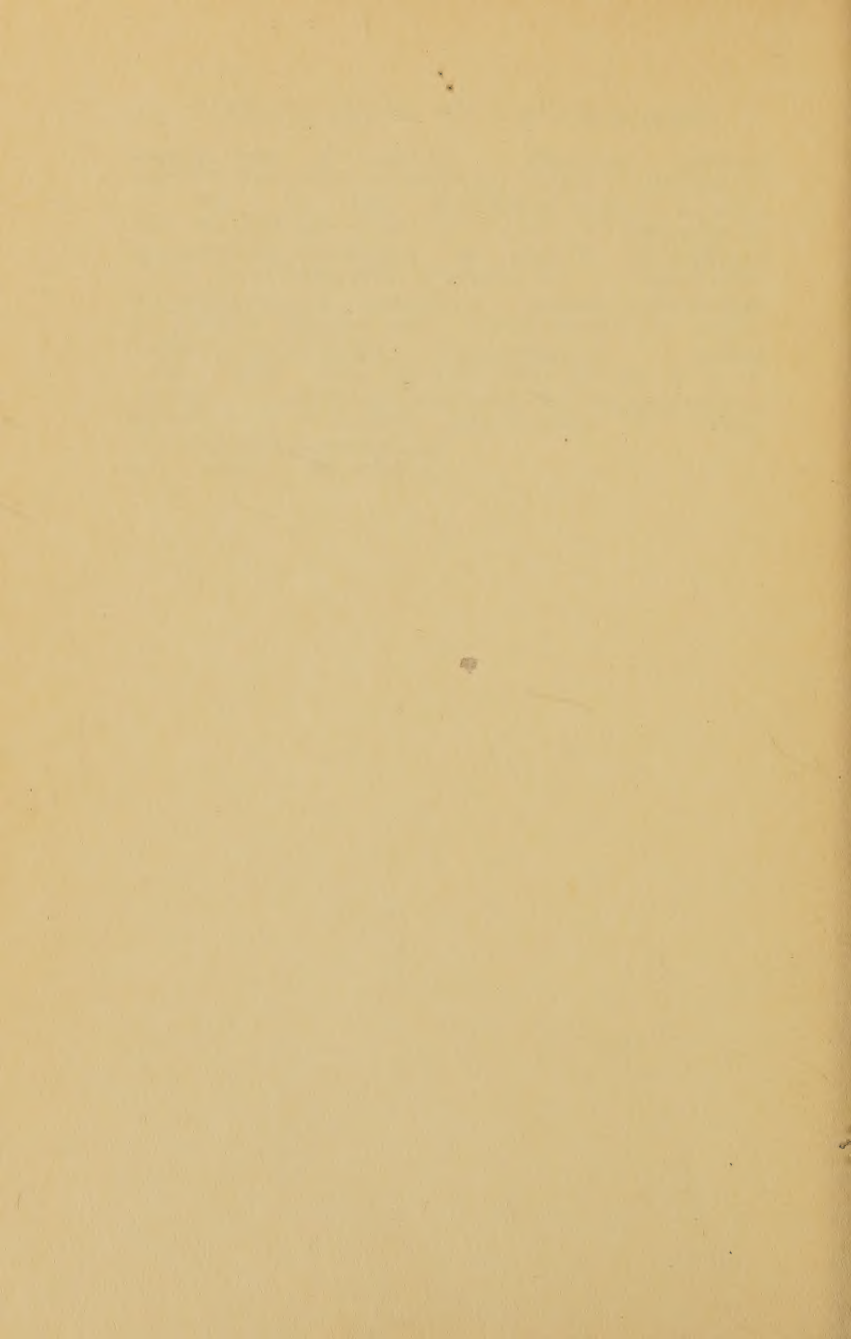
vos, judices, in ferendis sententiis ut audeatis id quod sentietis.
you, judges, in giving your votes to have the courage of your opinions.

Vestram virtutem, justitiam, fidem (credite mihi) maxime
Your virtue, justice, and faith (believe me) will be greatly

probabit is qui, in legendis judicibus legit quemque optimum
approved of by him who, in selecting judges, has selected all the best,

et sapientissimum et fortissimum.

and wisest and most brave.

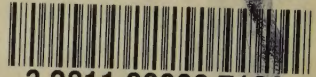


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